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A REPERTORY OF IDEAS: THE MUSIC OF THE 'RWAIIS,' BERBER
PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS FROM SOUTHWESTERN MOROCCO

University of Washington

PH.D.

1979

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A REPERTORY OF IDEAS:
THE MUSIC OF THE RWAIS,
BERBER PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS
FROM SOUTHWESTERN MOROCCO

by

Philip Daniel Schuyler

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1979

Approved by Veronica Lorraine Sakata
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

Program Authorized
to Offer Degree Music

Date August 14, 1979

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My greatest debt is to the rwais themselves, and the Ishlhin in general. Their generosity, cooperation, and tolerance for an inquiring foreigner far exceeded my hopes. It is impossible to cite the individual contributions of all those who helped me (many of whom are included in the list of Living Sources at the end of this work), but three in particular deserve special mention, though that is but small recompense for their help. Rais l-Hajj Omar Wahrush presented me with a rribab, taught me the rudiments of performance on the instrument, and provided much useful information and many excellent recordings; his acceptance of me was invaluable in helping to gain the confidence of other rwais.

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
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
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Finally, I wish to thank my wife Kinza, and daughter Qamar. Their obvious good will and affection for Moroccans helped break down many barriers during my fieldwork; back in Seattle, their support and patience has helped me carry this project to an end.

CONVENTIONS

Double bar lines  indicate the separation between two melodies in a series.

A single, solid bar line  indicates the division between melodies or textual phrases in a melody.

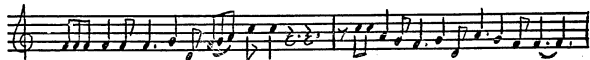
A dotted bar line  indicates the division of rhythmic cycles in a melody.

For comparative purposes, two or more melodies are sometimes arranged in a column. This synoptic arrangement may result in blank spaces in the staff:

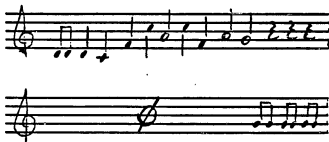
In order to highlight differences between two melodies, only the divergent elements of the second melody may be shown; in this case, the identical elements are indicated by ditto marks in the second melody:



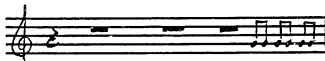
In an isolated transcription, the second melody would be written out as follows.



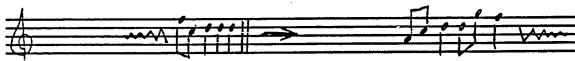
When an instrument remains silent through most of a melody, the sign for silence (\emptyset) is used rather than a series of rests:



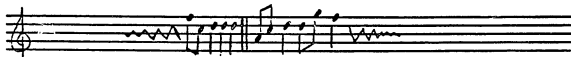
If rests were used, the second melody would be transcribed as follows:



Finally, when a synoptic transcription requires the separation of two melodies in a series, an arrow in the blank staff indicates that the two melodies are actually enchainé without pause or intervening material:



In an isolated transcription, the two melodies would be transcribed as follows:



PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

The phonetic system of tashlhit, the dialect of tamazight (Berber) spoken in Southwestern Morocco, is subject to numerous regional variations. For example, the phoneme gh (roughly equivalent to an exaggerated Parisian r) in the western High Atlas, is pronounced kh in the central High Atlas, and h in the Sus region. Thus nigh ("I said") is pronounced nikh in the central High Atlas, and niḥ in the Sus. Similarly, in certain areas of the western High Atlas, particularly the Ḥaḥa tribe, k is often pronounced sh, so that l-ḥakim ("judge" or "official") and ^CAbdelKrim (a name) become l-ḥashim and ^CAbdelShrim. Again in Ḥaḥa, t sometimes becomes s. Most tashlhit-speakers are aware of these differences, and are able to understand the different local pronunciations without difficulty. Nonetheless, misunderstandings sometimes arise. During the colonial period, for example, a tax collector is said to have asked a farmer from Ḥaḥa how many cows he owned. The farmer replied "she died" (tmut), which in his dialect was pronounced smus. The tax collector, however, confused smus with semmus ("five") and duly taxed the farmer for five cows (Mohamed Najmi, personal communication).

In transcribing tashlhit words, I have chosen to use the phonetic system found in most dialects of the western High Atlas. These are the dialects spoken by the majority of my

informants, and the ones with which I am most familiar. Furthermore, the phonetic system of the western High Atlas is close to that of Moroccan Arabic, so the Arabic origin of many words remains clear in the transcription. I have tried to make the transliteration of words in tashlhit and Moroccan Arabic sufficiently accurate to be of use to linguists and Moroccanists, without causing inordinate difficulties for other readers.

<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Arabic Equivalent</u>
a	low central vowel	ا
b	voiceless bilabial stop	ب
d	voiced dental stop	د، ذ
ḍ	emphatic, velarized voiced dental stop	ض
e	schwa	
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative	ف
g	voiced velar stop	غ
gh	voiced uvular fricative; like Parisian <u>r</u>	غ
h	voiceless glottal fricative; like English <u>h</u>	ه
ḥ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative; like <u>h</u> in stage whisper	ح
i	high front vowel	(ي)
j	voiced alveo-palatal fricative; like French <u>j</u> in <u>je</u>	ج
k	voiceless velar stop	ك
kh	voiceless uvular fricative; like German <u>ch</u> in <u>Bach</u>	خ

<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Arabic Equivalent</u>
l	dental lateral	ل
m	bilabial nasal	م
n	dental nasal	ن
o	mid-high back vowel	و
q	voiceless uvular stop; q in the back of the throat	ق
r	dental flap	ر
s	voiceless dental fricative	س
ṣ	emphatic, velarized voiceless dental fricative	ص
sh	voiceless alveo- palatal fricative	ش
t	voiceless dental stop	ت، ث
ṭ	emphatic, velarized voiceless dental stop	ط، ظ
u	high back vowel	و
w	bilabial semivowel	و
y	palatal semivowel	(ي)
z	voiced dental fricative	ز
ʾ	glottal stop	ء
-- ^c	the Arabic letter <u>Ḥayn</u> ; voiced pharyngeal frica- tive; rather like the sound of clearing the throat	ع



FIGURE 1: Raisa and Rwais with Rribab and Lotar

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an investigation into the nature of an oral tradition, the music of the rwais, Berber professional musicians from the tashlhit-speaking region of Southwestern Morocco. The rwais' tradition is derived from a number of sources. Basic elements of melodic and rhythmic organization, as well as many complete melodies, have been taken from various styles of village music performed in the rwais' home territory. The musicians have added other melodies and melodic ideas from the repertoires of Moroccan Andalusian music, Arab folk music, and even European bugle calls. The instrumentation of the rwais' ensembles also comes from non-Berber, probably Arab and West African, sources. These diverse elements have been fused together to form a distinct, indeed unique, style of music.

This study does not concentrate on a fixed, limited body of material, for to do so would distort the nature of the rwais' tradition. No two performances by the rwais are identical. Change takes place on all levels of performance: in the instrumentation of ensembles; in the arrangement of large formal units that make up a piece of music; in the selection and order of melodies within these units; and in the melodic and rhythmic details of each individual melody. Some change, however slight, is inevitable in any oral tradition over time, if only through failure of memory or changing interpretation. For the rwais, however, change is a positive virtue, and the most highly regarded musicians are those who expand the repertory with their innovations or borrowings from other cultures.

At the same time, change is not unrestricted in the rwais' music. Virtually every performance is built from the same formal units, even if the framework is put together slightly differently each time. Furthermore, the musicians hold a large repertory of melodies and variants in common, and most of these are based on a limited number of modal and rhythmic patterns. Many new creations are simply a rearrangement or reworking of old ideas. Finally, the very processes by which melodies or whole performances are transformed and recreated fall into a limited number of patterns. Indeed, the transformational operations themselves can be considered, in a sense, a part of the rwais' repertory.

In short, the rwais have no fixed pieces, to be repeated exactly in each performance. Instead, the repertory consists of loose formal frameworks, a number of variable melodies, a set of modal and rhythmic patterns, and a variety of processes that can be used to combine or alter the elements of the repertory. This repertory of ideas permits each performance to be unique, without sacrificing stylistic continuity. Clifford Geertz (1968:1) has noted that the problem in studying change in world religions is that "old wine goes as easily into new bottles as old bottles contain new wine." In this study, most of the wine and most of the bottles to be examined are old; the problem is to show how, and why, different kinds of old wine are decanted into different shapes of old bottles.

1.1 The Plan of the Dissertation

The remaining chapters of this dissertation show how the rwais put their repertory of ideas into effect. The first section of the work,

Chapters 2-5, is devoted to an ethnography of performance. Such an ethnography is an appropriate point of departure for a study of a fluid oral tradition like that of the rwais. As Marcia Herndon (1975:164) has pointed out,

While one cannot derive all the necessary information from the immediacy of performance, it is the performance with which one must start. After all, nothing else really exists. This is particularly true of improvised music...

Each of the four chapters in the first section examines a different performance situation. Chapter 2 deals with performance in the marketplace, Chapter 3 with private parties, Chapter 4 with commercial establishments, and Chapter 5 with electronic media. The form of performance in each situation is examined on two levels. The analysis begins with an overview of the circumstances surrounding performance--the historical or cultural background of the situation, the physical setting, the nature of the audience, financial arrangements, and so on. The second part of the discussion traces the effect of these external factors on performance as it is more narrowly defined--group configuration, the quality of performance, and, above all, the selection and order of performance segments, including instrumental music, song, comedy, and dance.

The second section of this dissertation, Chapters 6-10, analyzes in detail one component of performance--music. Passing, and sometimes extended, reference is made to other components of the rwais' act, but it is impossible to treat these other elements systematically in the confines of the present work.

Chapter 6 deals with the instruments of the rwais' ensemble, concentrating on their physical structure and probable origins.

Chapters 7 and 8 deal with rhythm and form, and mode and melody respectively. The analysis is based, on the one hand, on the explicit theoretical statements of the musicians themselves, and, on the other hand, on the componential analysis of a representative sample of 210 melodies drawn from the repertory. Chapter 9 examines the processes of improvisation and composition, the techniques used by the rwais to renew their repertory and render each performance a unique event. Finally, Chapter 10 treats two aspects of acculturation, the acculturation of music and the acculturation of musicians. An analysis of melodies taken from Arab and European sources shows that borrowed melodies, if they are to be successfully incorporated into the repertory, must conform to most of the rules that define the rwais' style. If the musicians want to perform music that differs too greatly from their own tradition, then they must give up, at least temporarily, their identity as rwais, and conform to the dictates of the new style.

1.2 Review of the Literature

My approach to the study of the rwais' tradition has been influenced by the theories of a number of social scientists. Often these writings have set me off on a train of thought whose final destination was so far removed from its starting point as to be unrecognizable. The concept of the repertory ideas was suggested in an article on Middle Atlas poetry, by Jeannette Harries and Mohamed Raamouch (1971). The influence of Pierre Bourdieu's Outline of a Theory of Practice (1977) has affected every section of this work, though not always in a manner directly attributable to him.

The writings of Marcia Herndon (1971 and 1975) and John Blacking (1977) have provided the theoretical justification for the first section of the dissertation, the ethnography of performance. Practical approaches to the problem were suggested by several articles in Bauman and Sherzer's Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking, particularly that of Judith Irvine. The chapters on musical analysis in the second section of this dissertation rely heavily on the theories and techniques of Constantin Brailoiu (1973). Finally, the discussion of methods of composition and improvisation is inspired, again in unattributable ways, by Albert Lord's A Singer of Tales (1960).

Ethnographic material on the Ishlḥin is available in abundance. More than twenty years after its publication, Jacques Berque's Les Structures sociales du Haut Atlas (1969), though it deals with tribes of the central High Atlas, just beyond the tashlḥit-speaking region, is nonetheless a valuable source of information on Berber religion and politics. John Waterbury's North for the Trade (1972), and Gellner's Arabs and Berbers (1972), offer a number of illustrations of the ways in which Berbers have adapted to 20th century life.

Interesting sources of tashlḥit poetry have appeared almost continuously throughout this century. The earliest studies, such as R.L.N. Johnston's The Songs of Sidi Hammo (1907), and the numerous publications of Colonel L. Justinard, are of little use to the linguist, but they do give a good idea of the flavor--and continuity--of the tashlḥit poetic tradition. Over the past decade, educated Ishlḥin have begun publishing collections of tashlḥit oral poetry, printed in the Arabic alphabet. Some of these anthologies, like those of Amzal (1968)

and Mustawi (1976) offer little in the way of commentary, but others, like the studies of Bouzid (1973) and Amarir (1975 and 1978), include both translation and analysis of the texts in Arabic. By far the most useful collection of tashlhit poetry is the Recueil de poèmes chleuhs, I: Chants de trouveurs, by Paulette Galand-Pernet (1972). The collection contains 38 songs by various rwais, along with copious notes to explain symbolism, syntax, and structure, but not, unfortunately, prosody. If not the last word on tashlhit poetry, it is certainly the standard against which other work must be measured. Finally, the written tradition (using Arabic script) of tashlhit poetry is represented by B.H. Stricker's edition of Muḥammad al-Awzali's poem, L'Océan des pleurs (1960).

Reliable material on Berber music in general, and the rwais in particular, is scarce. A number of ethnomusicologists, including Hornbostel and Lachmann (1933), Schneider (1960), and Gerson-Kiwi (1967), have discussed the music of the Ishlhin, but their work has not proved very useful for the present study. The work of Alexis Chottin, Tableau de la musique marocaine (1939), and Corpus de musique marocaine, II: Musique et danse du pays chleuh (1933), on the other hand, is a necessary point of departure for research on the rwais. The 1933 monograph was the result of research carried out with the finest rwais of the day; although the work contains a number of errors of detail, on the whole it is most insightful. Finally, Bernard Lortat-Jacob's dissertation, "Musique de village en Haut Atlas" (1973), provides a wealth of information on all aspects of village music in the central High Atlas.

1.3 Method

Clifford Geertz has observed that, "an anthropologist's work tends, no matter what its ostensible subject, to be but an expression of his research experience, or, more accurately, what his research experience has done to him" (1968:x). In my own fieldwork, the passivity implied in this statement was partly a matter of policy, and partly a matter of necessity. Over a two-year period, from April 1975 to March 1977, I observed performances by the rwais almost daily. I also visited the musicians in their lodgings an average of two-three times a week, and often invited them to my own house. During the same period, I made over a dozen trips into the mountains, lasting from two days to a week, to record and photograph village music, primarily in the villages around Imi n Tanut. Much of my time with the rwais or in the villages was spent in waiting: waiting for buses, waiting for musicians, waiting, all too often, for performances that never took place. At first the waiting seemed like wasted time. Eventually, however, I realized that it was providing me with some of my most valuable material. When musicians became accustomed to my presence, they began to discuss issues usually kept private from outsiders: matters such as money, the subtleties of performance, and personal and professional relations between musicians.

From my research before going into the field, I had a number of ideas about what to expect from the rwais and their music, and many questions I wanted answered. I spoke fluent Moroccan Arabic (learned during a previous stay in Fes, 1968-72), and most rwais were bilingual in tashlhit and Arabic, so there were no linguistic barriers to interviews.

I preferred to use tashlhit as much as possible, however, in order to gain a better understanding of poetry and technical musical terminology. Despite six weeks of intensive study of tashlhit in Paris, I needed another six months of informal study in the field before I felt comfortable in the language. Thus, I determined initially to ask as few questions as possible, and to let the rwais' conversations and actions speak for themselves. Only when the musicians had broached an issue, such as the relation between rwais and tolba (religious scholars), did I pursue that line of questioning actively. Later, as my command of tashlhit improved, and certain matters of interest, like the definition of some of the rarer modes, failed to come up in discussion, I sometimes tried to direct the conversation to these topics. On occasion, I also conducted formal interviews. In general, however, I found that interaction between the rwais--musical, verbal, and nonverbal--yielded more interesting, and valid, information than did the interviews. The interaction between the rwais sometimes confirmed, and often refuted, the ideas I had conceived before going into the field. More important, they led me in ways I never could have anticipated. Thus, in a very real way, the rwais themselves have determined the subject matter of this dissertation.

My fabian methodology was also determined, it often seemed, by fate. Carefully planned projects, like a trip to the mountains to record a specific variety of village music, or an attempt at interviewing a specific musician, failed with depressing regularity. On the other hand, a casual excursion into the mountains, or a chance meeting on the street, often produced better results than any I could have hoped for in my plans.

My program called for participation as well as observation. From the beginning of my fieldwork, I tried to get the rwais to teach me to

play their instruments. None of them was willing to commit himself to a regular (daily or weekly) series of lessons, but several musicians were willing to spend time occasionally to help me learn. By learning to play the instruments (however inadequately), I was better able to understand and analyze the music. Furthermore, the rwais' comments and corrections of technique were a valuable aid in trying to understand the musicians' aesthetics of their own music. Finally, whatever successes I had in learning the instruments helped me gain credibility as a researcher seriously involved in the music of the rwais.

The most useful tools in my research were the camera and tape recorder. The tape recorder, above all, provided the documentation for the musical analysis in the last four chapters of this work. Both devices, however, had more immediate uses. When the rwais discovered that I had a good recorder (a Nagra IVS) and contacts at Radiodiffusion-Télévision Marocaine in Rabat, the capital, I received many requests to record various groups and deliver copies to the radio station. Not only did this give me the chance to expand my collection of recordings, it also provided me with the opportunity to reward the musicians for their help. Furthermore, comments on the recording procedure and on the finished product yielded much valuable information. The rwais were similarly interested in having themselves photographed. Again, copies of the pictures provided compensation for the musicians and stimulus for conversation.

1.4 The Tashlhit-speaking Region; The Home Territory of the Rwais

In modern Morocco, the primary distinction between Arabs and Berbers is one of language. Anyone who speaks a dialect of Berber as

his or her mother tongue can be considered a Berber, whether or not that person speaks Arabic, the official national language. The Berbers themselves are divided into three dialect groups: tarifit, spoken by the Irifiyen (or Imazighen) of the Rif Mountains in northeastern Morocco; tamazight, the language of the pastoral tribes of Imazighen, in the Middle Atlas and eastern High Atlas; and tashlhit, spoken by the Ishlhin, sedentary peasants in the southwest of the country.¹

Rwais are, without exception, Ishlhin, born in the villages of the tashlhit-speaking region. The Ishlhin have traditionally been confined to the High and Anti-Atlas mountains, and the plains and pre-Saharan oases bordering the two massifs. The tashlhit-speaking region is bounded on the west by the Atlantic coast, from Essaouira in the north to the Ait BaAmran tribe around the old Spanish enclave of Sidi Ifni in the south, a distance of some 270 kilometers as the crow flies. Starting with Demnate at the base of the Tessawt valley in the Central High Atlas, the northern boundary runs east to west in a straight line for 300 kilometers, passing through Marrakech and the Haouz plain, and ending in Essaouira on the Atlantic. The territory is bounded on the east by a line running due south, with a slight eastward bulge as it passes through the High Atlas, from Demnate to the edge of the Ait Wawzgit

¹ L'Association Marocaine de Recherche et Échange Culturel has worked hard, and with considerable success, to replace all terms such as "Berber", "Shluh", and so on, with the word amazigh (f. tamazight, pl. imazighen; lit., free man). The members of the association felt that "Berber" et al. were pejorative terms, while amazigh expressed the nobility of their people. While I respect their purpose, I have elected to use the old designations, for several reasons. First, the new use of amazigh is not widely known, if at all, in Western scholarly circles, and so might lead to confusion about the geographical-linguistic area under discussion. Secondly, the new use of amazigh is confined to intellectual circles within Morocco; the people themselves maintain the old terminology. The rwais and their compatriots identify their language as tashlhit, and themselves as Ishlhin; as far as they are concerned, Imazighen live only in the Middle Atlas.

territory, just south of the town of Ouarzazate. From Ouarzazate, the southern border extends southwest for 220 kilometers to the oasis of Akka, then turns almost due west for another 220 kilometers to Sidi Ifni. (See Map 1). The entire region is sometimes known as the *Sûs*, after the river valley that runs between the High and Anti-Atlas ranges. The Ishlḥin themselves, however, generally divide the region into two areas, the High Atlas in the north, and the *Sus* in the south, including the river valley itself, as well as the Anti-Atlas and the pre-desert oases beyond.

There are several pockets of Arabic speakers within these borders. Some tribes, like the Shishawn (Chichaoua) on the plains just north of the High Atlas, are almost completely bilingual. The town of Taroudannt, in the *Sus* valley, has long been a stronghold of Arabic culture in the region, and a number of surrounding tribes, like the Huwara (Houara), have become emphatically Arabized, to the point of denying any Berber ancestry. On the other hand, some tribes of Ishlḥin, particularly in the deep south, spill out over the lines I have drawn. In general, however, these boundaries may be said to delimit the homeland of the Ishlḥin.

The tashlḥit-speaking population is divided into numerous sedentary tribes. Tribal boundaries are basically determined by geography, but, in theory, membership in a tribe is based on descent, through patrilineal segmentary lineages, from a putative common ancestor. The word "tribe" (taobilt) itself can be misleading, since each individual, beyond his extended family, actually belongs to a nested series of tribes; every step up in a geneology defines a wider tribal grouping.

Ideally, at each level the segments should balance each other and provide political stability. Inevitably, however, certain tribes or villages have been better endowed with offspring or natural resources. To counter this tendency, according to a disputed French political theory, alliances or "leagues" (leff) were formed which cut across the segmentary lineages (Gellner 1969:35-52; Montagne 1930:7; Berque 1955:63).

Traditionally, each tribe maintained a measure of independence from other tribes and from the central government. Tribal organization bore the earmarks of what might be called democracy. The majority of the population consisted of land-holding peasants, who participated, again in theory, in the administration of justice and the selection of a village council. Positions of power within the tribe were meant to rotate between the various member villages or segments (Gellner 81-92). There were, however, certain elite groups. From time to time, crafty or charismatic individuals succeeded in monopolizing political and economic power over several adjoining tribes; on very rare occasions, the entire region was unified under one leader (Montagne 1930:i-ii, 21). Some groups, notably saints (igurram) and descendants of the Prophet (shorfa) had a disproportionate share of spiritual power, which often brought with it temporal benefits as well. To complement the elites, there were disenfranchised classes, such as slaves, tenant farmers, and Jews.² The few specialized craftsmen in the region, such as

² In certain tribes, such as the Ait BuGmez in the eastern High Atlas, Jews were allowed to own land, which they farmed themselves, in effect giving them full participation in tribal affairs (Adam 1972:329). As late as 1964, the population of the town of Demnate was nearly half Jewish, and a few Jewish villages, with greatly diminished population,

blacksmiths, silversmiths, and well-diggers, were also held in low regard (Lortat-Jacob 1973:11).

Depending on the level of segmentation, a tribe may consist of as few as two or three hamlets (with a population of 200-300 each) in a single valley, or a large confederation of small tribes, including 5,000-8,000 members, and covering an area of hundreds of square kilometers. It is possible to obtain fairly accurate population figures for limited areas, but practically impossible to estimate the tashlhit-speaking population as a whole. Figures range from 1,500,000 (Noin 1970 I:91) to 3,000,000 (Hoffman 1970:22). The former total--compiled from figures for the western High Atlas, Anti-Atlas, Sus, and Haouz plain--seems low, particularly since the latter two areas include a substantial Arabic-speaking population; the second total is undoubtedly too high, since it amounts to about 20% of the 1960 population of the country as a whole. The exact figure, however, is irrelevant. What matters is a rather high population density in an area not particularly bountiful.

The region is intensely cultivated, but agricultural production is, for the most part, poor. Rainfall and snow run-off are relatively plentiful in the High Atlas, but tillable land is scarce in the rocky valleys. In the Sus, on the other hand, rainfall reaches only a scant 12-16 inches a year in some areas, and sometimes less (Waterbury 1972: 12). The Ishlhin make every effort to maximize productivity from their limited resources of arable land and water. Wells, cisterns, and

continued to exist. Since that time, with very few exceptions, the Jews have all emigrated to Marrakech, Casablanca, or Israel (Thomas Dichter, personal communication).

storage pools are used to collect and conserve water in flat lands, while an elaborate system of aqueducts and terraces has been scrupulously maintained in the mountains. Barley, turnips and pulses are the staple crops, and richer areas produce wheat, onions, and a variety of other garden vegetables. Tree crops suitable to various altitudes are an important source of cash income--olives and oranges in the lowlands, almonds in the lower valleys, and walnuts higher up in the mountains. Sheep, goats, and a few cattle provide meat, milk, leather, and wool. In some areas, mining (particularly copper) and craft goods (mainly weaving) provide additional cash income.

The meager resources of the High Atlas and, particularly, the Sus, have never been sufficient to maintain the entire population. Migration, both within Morocco and abroad, has long been seen as a means of relieving population pressure and providing additional income for those who stay behind. In this century, migration, for trade or labor, has become a way of life, and in some villages it involves over 60% of the adult male population (Noin 1970:II, 184; Waterbury 1972). Until the 1950's, and to some extent even today, most migration was temporary. Villagers moved to the city in rotation. For example, when a man went to run a grocery shop or work in a factory, he left his brother behind in the village to look after their extended family. When he returned home after a period of months or years, his brother took his place in the city. With the passage of time, however, and an increased dependence on steady income, more and more men have settled permanently in town, taking their families with them (Adam 1972:334).

The Ishlḥin, like the vast majority of Moroccans, are Muslims. The conversion of the tribes took place gradually, between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D. Yet, even after centuries of adherence to Islam, their belief system is not entirely devoid of pre-Islamic ideas. Islam has often tolerated syncretist practices. During the early centuries of expansion, conversion often went along with enlistment in the Muslim army (AbuNasr 1975:71). There was a tendency to accept the conversion of people who could barely recite the profession of faith (shahada) on the grounds that they would eventually, even if only after several generations, follow all the teachings of orthodox Islam. This gradualism has permitted many converts to enter the community of believers carrying the baggage of pre-Islamic belief and practice. Rather than being purged with time, however, these practices often acquire an Islamic patina, and are thought of as traditional Muslim procedure.

At the same time, purist Islam has also attracted many Ishlḥin. The High Atlas and Sus have produced a number of eminent religious and legal scholars. In the 12th century A.D., al-Mahdi ibn Tumert unified the entire region by combining reformist zeal with successful military strategy; the dynasty he founded, the Almohades (al-muwahḥidun, the unitarians), ruled not only Morocco and much of North Africa, but Muslim Spain and parts of the western Soudan as well (Laraoui 1977:174-185). To take a more recent example, al-Ḥajj Mokhtar Soussi was a distinguished historian and religious scholar, and served in the first post-Independence cabinet of Mohamed V. Today, the region is still famous for its ṭolba (Qur'anic scholars). Outside of the High Atlas and Sus, the fame has been largely due to the ṭolba's reputed skill in the occult

arts, such as astrology, numerology, magic, and particularly, the application of these skills in treasure hunting (Lévi-Provençal 1928:21). But within the tashlhit-speaking region, the tolba enjoy a reputation for religious orthodoxy and a superabundance of zeal in spreading Islam and the Arabic language (Waterbury 1972:29-31).

The influence of Islam is manifest among the Ishlḥin, the influence of Arabic language and culture, markedly less so. The tribesmen could embrace the religion with an open heart, but they were loath to accept the authority and taxation of the central government. Whenever possible, the Ishlḥin resisted the Sultan's armies, even as they recognized the spiritual sovereignty of the Sultan himself. For its part, the central government was seldom able to push very far into the mountains, nor yet to maintain for long its power in conquered territories. As a result, contact between Arabs and mountain Berbers was limited. The Arabic language never came to replace Berber in the highlands, as it had in the plains. Inevitably, Arabic, as the language of religion and trade, has had a tremendous impact on the language and thought of the Ishlḥin; but Arabic influence among the sedentary tribes of the High Atlas has never been as pervasive as in the plains, or even among the nomadic tribes of the Middle Atlas (Lévi-Provençal 1928:22).

The tapestry of Moroccan culture in general, woven from strands of Arabic and Berber traditions, is shot through with traces of West African influence. There has been continuous contact for centuries between North Africa and the Western Sudan. Various Moroccan dynasties (including the present one) have claimed hegemony over parts of the Sahara and savannah lands to the south of the desert. In the long run,

commerce proved a stronger bond than politics, and trade in gold, salt, and slaves was important to the economy north and south of the Sahara. The Sus was affected by contact with West Africa, since several towns in the region, including Massa, served as terminus for trans-Saharan caravan routes. Furthermore, at some time in the past, a number of nomadic Saharan tribes were driven by adverse climatic conditions to settle in the Sus, where their descendants have become tenant farmers (Camps 1970). Thus, in the tashlhit-speaking region, where Arabic influence is relatively weak, the influence of Black Africa is more apparent than in any other area north of the Sahara.

1.2 The Rwais and the Music of the Ishlḥin

The High Atlas and Sus are rich in musical forms. For convenience, these can be divided into four categories: 1. village music, a variety of styles performed by amateur musicians; 2. professional music, performed by small, itinerant groups of musicians known as rwais; 3. the chanting of the Qur'an and other religious texts, by scholars known as tolba;³ and 4. the music of the Gnawa, a black religious brotherhood.

In performance, each of these styles is recognizably, if not uniquely, Berber. Yet at the same time they all represent the various traditions and tendencies that are intertwined in tashlhit culture. The tolba, of course, represent a tradition that is by definition Arabic, since the Qur'an must be chanted in the language of Allah. Similarly, in the music and rites of the Gnawa, West African practice dominates,

³ Strictly speaking, the performance of the tolba is not regarded as music (in the sense of entertainment) by the tolba or the Ishlḥin in general.

while Arabic and Berber elements seem almost incidental. As might be expected, the numerous genres and styles of village music are spun from the purest Berber tradition, yet even here the music is tinged with African influence. Each of these styles--particularly ahwash, the communal dance that epitomizes village music--has influenced the rwais.

A performance by the rwais includes instrumental music, dance, and comedy. The essential element of their act, however, is sung poetry (amarg, lit: yearning, longing), which may be improvised or pre-composed. The rwais sing almost exclusively in Berber, although travel has enriched their poetic vocabulary with Arabic and French terminology. Both imagery (based largely on nature, agriculture, and hunting) and most themes (such as unrequited love, religion, and social commentary) are drawn from a traditional repertory shared by rwais and village poets. The basic formal unit of poetry is a single line, rather than a quatrain or other strophic pattern. In general, each line contains a separate complete thought. The line is often divided by a caesura a third or halfway through, a pattern that lends itself well to responsorial singing between antiphonal choruses in village music or between leader and chorus among the rwais.

Compound duple meters predominate in both village and professional music; the simultaneous or successive juxtaposition of binary and ternary rhythms in compound duple produces rhythmic tension that gives Berber music great vitality. Many pieces begin slowly in simple duple or triple meters, and asymmetrical rhythms, though rare also appear in the repertory. As the tempo accelerates, however, the rhythm inevitably modulates to compound duple. Instrumental and vocal passages in free

rhythm are a mark of virtuosity in both village and professional music.

Melodies are set, for the most part, in anhemitonic pentatonic modes, varied by the introduction of an occasional semi-tone. Most melodies fall within the range of an octave, although some have an ambitus as wide as an octave and a fourth. Melodic structure assumes a variety of shapes, but in the majority of cases, the melody is built of two to four parallel phrases, adding up to a total of eight to twelve cycles of the chosen rhythm. Each melody generally corresponds in length to a single line of poetry.

The rwais (sing.: rais), perform in groups of up to fifteen musicians, but the ideal group is much smaller, including only four to seven members. Their music is distinguished from village music, and, indeed, from all other genres of Moroccan music by the use of the rribab, a monochord fiddle, and the lotar, a three- or four-stringed lute.⁴ Rhythmic accompaniment is provided by a naqus (lit.: bell), which is most often a brake drum beaten with metal rods. In an urban setting, a group may include from four to eight female singers and dancers (raisat), who play finger cymbals (nuiqsat, lit.: little bells).⁵

⁴ The Berber rribab should not be confused with the rebab andalusi, a two-stringed, bowed boat lute used in the classical andalusian tradition of Moroccan music. The lotar is a close relative of the pear-shaped Arab gimbri (also sometimes known as lotar), but the construction and design are again unique to the Ishlhin.

⁵ At one time, as late as 25 years ago, raisat apparently played melodic instruments as well. One retired raisa claimed to have been part of an all-woman ensemble in the entourage of Brahim el-Glawi, Qa'id of Telwat in the central High Atlas during the French Protectorate. She claimed that one woman played rribab and that she played lotar, and produced an exquisite old instrument in disrepair, to prove it. The group was supervised and instructed by a male rais, who did not, however, perform with them. A photograph of such a group can be found in Miège 1953 (?):214.

The present group configuration apparently came about only toward the end of the last century. According to the testimony of one old-time rais (Chottin 1933:18) and the estimates of my own informants, the rribab and the lotar were first used together no more than 100 years ago, at most. Before that time, the lotar was played primarily by amateur musicians (as it still is among the Ashtukn in the Sus). Professional rwais, accompanying themselves on the rribab, performed as soloists, although they sometimes travelled with groups of acrobats or other entertainers.

Today few rwais perform exclusively as soloists, but a spirit of individualism remains strong in the profession. The ideal performer is complete in himself--composer, lyricist, singer, dancer, and accompanist, all at the same time. This self-sufficiency gives each musician a great deal of autonomy, since he can leave a group at any time to perform alone if need be. As a result, group instability is high, and the slightest dispute over performance or, more frequently, the distribution of income, can lead to the dissolution of an ensemble. During a one-week period in Marrakech, for example, no fewer than five separate groups, with four to twelve members, were formed (and disbanded) from a pool of fifteen musicians. The fluidity and freedom of movement between groups has two effects on the rwais' music: First, it ensures that the repertory of basic ideas is distributed fairly equally among all musicians; when a group is dissolved a rais' new ideas are spread by his accompanists to other performers, despite any efforts he may make to stop them. At the same time, the rapid circulation of musicians prevents any single group from developing a fixed repertory, or rigid

interpretation of individual pieces.

Although individual musicians have no particular allegiance to any single performing group, they often show strong loyalty to one or two of their colleagues. These duos or trios often stay together for years;⁶ when they join up with soloists or other small groups for a full-scale performance, however, the resulting ensemble is no more stable than any other. Yet, despite all the individuality and competition between musicians, the rwais also show considerable loyalty to members of the profession in general. Thus, a rais in residence in a town or city often provides food and housing for his travelling colleagues; and on several occasions I have witnessed the rwais take up a collection for the benefit of a musician who was ill or in financial distress.

The rwais are specialists in a society with few professions and little need of them. Long isolated politically and geographically from each other as well as from the Arabized peoples of the plains and cities, the Ishlḥin have had to be self-sufficient, or nearly so, in meeting many of their own needs, including music. The rwais, like well-diggers, tin smiths, and other craftsmen, have had to make up for the limited demand for their services in any one area by moving continuously over great distances in search of work.

⁶ During my years of fieldwork, I noted five or six such close-knit teams. The individual members were free to perform alone or with other groups if the occasion arose, but, by their own testimony, they preferred to play together. Some teams even went back to their respective native villages together on vacation, and a few married into each other's families. Several rwais pointed out pairs that had been together for ten years or more. Even these groups sometimes break up, however, and when they do there is much more bitterness than accompanies the dissolution of the usual casual group.

Traditionally, the rwais, alone or in groups, have made long trips through the mountains, stopping at each village and country market (suq) on their itinerary for as long as they could find food, lodging, and other payment for their performance. Making a virtue out of what was once an economic necessity, the rwais still consider travel essential both as training and initiation for novice musicians, and as the major source of new material for songs.

By mixing music, poetry, and information heard on the road with their own experiences and compositions, professional musicians have been able to offer villagers not only a change from a steady diet of local music, but also news and opinion from the world outside their valley. In the days before good roads or radio, the rwais were valued primarily as journalists, historians, and moralists. Some rwais still see themselves in these roles. As one respected musician explained to me,

I am a journalist, just like you. When I travel, I pay attention to what I see, and then put it all in a song. But tell me, which is better, an article like the ones you write, that can be read by one person at a time, or records like mine, that can be heard by hundreds?⁷

As well as reporting and commenting on current events, the rwais have offered their audiences religious education of a sort (Johnston 1907:62). Many, if not most, of the rwais I dealt with had at least the rudiments of Qur'anic education, and a number of them have been trained as to'iba. Paulette Galand-Pernet (1972:11) has pointed out that the rwais' repertory contains a number of poems of a religious nature, whose texts are

⁷ All unattributed quotations are taken from my own field notes, 1975-77. To protect the anonymity of informants, most musicians are identified only by 2-4 initials. Unless otherwise noted, these quotations are my own translations from tashlhit or Moroccan Arabic.

often very close to scholarly treatises. These poems, which include explanations of various Muslim practices like the pilgrimage to Mecca, stories from the Qur'an, or even exegesis of actual Qur'anic verses, are designed to edify the audience in a manner more entertaining, and less threatening, than the preaching of the ṭolba.

The radio, and, to a lesser extent, television and newspapers, have largely usurped the rwais' roles of journalist and educator. Poets still point out, however, that "We (I) have only our words to sell" (is akka zuz-gh awal). Indeed, most rwais sell their words made to order, by acting as singers of praise. Their praise of a generous host, or criticism of a stingy one, can have an appreciable effect on an individual's reputation. Recognizing this, wealthy farmers and merchants, as well as local political and religious leaders, have always patronized the rwais lavishly (Johnston 1907:21-22). Until the early 1950's, according to reports of both mountain villagers and the rwais themselves, a few qaid-s (tribal governors) even kept personal bands of professional musicians.

In the past, the rwais confined most of their travel to late summer and early fall, the season of feasts after the harvests, when leisure and relative wealth permit the Ishlḥin to organize large parties with hired entertainment. Late summer continues to be the busiest time of year for the rwais, as indeed it is for most Moroccan musicians; many count on the income from summer parties to carry them through the rest of the year. In recent years, however, the rwais have found more regular employment in the city. Based primarily in Marrakech, Agadir, and Casablanca, they retain easy access to their home villages and rural

audience, but they live in the midst of a much more affluent market, the colonies of emigrant Ishlḥin.

Although the rwais have begun to settle permanently in the cities only in the past twenty years or so, the urban market has attracted the musicians for short visits at least since the beginning of this century (Barrows 1970:77-78; Chottin 1933:11). Furthermore, the rwais have extended their travels into Europe for at least the past fifty years (Galand-Pernet 1972:171), and very likely even before. The cities attract the rwais for a number of reasons. The emigrant workers and merchants can offer the musicians cash, often in abundance, instead of payment in kind. Furthermore, they face no competition from village music. The rwais are welcomed by the emigrants as a reminder of home, and, at the same time, they are able to take back impressions of the city and of emigrant life, to sing to villagers in the mountains. Often, the rwais carry actual messages between relatives and friends, but, in any case, their travels help strengthen the emotional bond between urban and rural Ishlḥin:

Separation is hard, very hard, and the distance is great.
Letters are necessary, or a trip to Paris.
I have made a proper song, that I might bring the news.

(Galand-Pernet 1972:46-50)

In short, the rwais have become intermediaries between emigrant Ishlḥin and those left behind in the village, just as they have always been intermediaries between the various tribes, carrying news and new music from village to village.

City life also brings the rwais in contact with many non-Ishlḥin. These encounters may supply the stuff of caustic moral commentary for

village consumption. Under certain circumstances, however, non-Ishlḥin may just as easily be potential patrons whom the rwais must accommodate in order to earn a living. There has been some demand for performances by the rwais, on the part of both the government and tourist organizations, as representatives of Berber music. Thus, their role as intermediary extends beyond the Ishlḥin to Moroccan Arabs and Europeans.

PART 1
THE RWAIS IN PERFORMANCE

CHAPTER 2
THE MARKETPLACE

In recent years, anthropologists, musicologists, folklorists, and linguists have begun to discover a common mode of discourse in the ethnography of performance (see Asch 1975; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Blacking 1977; Fogelson 1971; and Herndon 1971 and 1975). The concept shows promise of being able to reconcile, if not unify, competing theories in the composite discipline of ethnomusicology.

The ethnography of performance takes as its point of departure not the text of a musical event--that is, the music as it is transcribed on tape or paper--but the context within which it is performed and heard. Every musician and listener has experienced subtle variations in the rendition of a familiar piece of music brought about by a receptive audience or a defective instrument. The ethnography of performance searches for rules or patterns in the interaction of music with its environment, to show the effects of context on the text, and vice versa.

2.1 The Form of Performance

In the case of the rwaïs, the principal effect of the performance situation on music lies in the form of performance.¹ While the underlying principles of poetry and music remain the same in every performance by the rwaïs, the musicians have no fixed format for their act,

¹ Several examples of the influence of the performance situation on musical content are examined in Chapter 10.

nor yet for individual pieces. Every piece is, in fact, an enchainé series of formal segments, each an independent entity with no necessary connection to the segments that precede and follow it:

Amarg (lit., yearning, unrequited love) -- Sung poetry. Amarg is literally the centerpiece of any performance, and the only indispensable element of the rwais' act. An individual poem is known as aqṣid or taqṣiṭṭ (from the Arabic qaṣida). In most cases, a single line form and melodic setting are repeated from beginning to end of the song.

Astara (lit., traveling, strolling, i.e., over the principle degrees of the scale) -- An instrumental prelude or interlude, analogous in form and function to the Arabic taqsim. An astara serves to warm up both musicians and audience. It consists of a series of short phrases in free rhythm, centered on the tonic and other important pitches. An astara may last as much as three minutes, or as little as three strokes on the tonic.

Tbil -- A choreographed overture, in free or fixed rhythm (generally 4/4). A tbil is optional in some situations, and is reserved for use only at the beginning of performance. Each tbil is a collection of short melodies, arranged in a roughly pre-determined order. The group leader, however, chooses ad libitum the specific melodies and variations to be performed, as well as the number of times each is to be repeated.

Tamsust (lit., movement, acceleration) -- A bridge between two songs, or between amarg or tbil and l-aḍrub. Based on the song setting or final tbil melody, tamsust accelerates the tempo, and frequently modulates from single to compound metric patterns.

L-Adrub (sing., ḍḍerb, from the Arabic for beat, strike) -- A series of melodies, almost invariably in 6/8 time, used to accompany dance. A ḍḍerb melody may be used as a setting for amarg, and vice versa, but as accompaniment to dance, l-adrub are exclusively instrumental. The choice, order, and repetition of dance melodies is left entirely to the musicians' discretion.

Qta^C (from the Arabic for cut) -- A cadential formula, generally two to four rapid rhythm cycles in length.

The rwais' act also includes spoken, unaccompanied prose: mashkhara, slapstick comedy; and fatha (from the Arabic al-fatiha, the prayer that opens the Qur'an), a simultaneous benediction and request for money.

The musical elements of performance fit loosely into the framework given in Table 1, which is the rwais' own model of performance. A number of rwais pointed out that a piece should begin with an astara and then move to amarg. At the end of the song text, the vocal melody (rih) accelerates into the tamsust, often shifting to a compound duple meter, to lead into l-adrub. The piece is brought to a close with a short cadential formula, the qta^C. The rwais seldom mentioned the tbil section of performance without prompting. They did point out, however, that the tbil comes only at the very beginning of performance. Furthermore when it is used, tbil follows the same general format as amarg, preceded by an astara, and followed by tamsust, l-adrub, and qta^C.

TABLE 1
The Rwais' Model of Performance²

#S +	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} T \\ M \end{matrix} \right\}$	+ TS + D + Q#
S	<u>Astara</u>	
T	<u>Tbil</u>	
M	<u>Amarg</u>	
TS	<u>Tamsust</u>	
D	<u>L-Adrub</u>	
Q	Qṭa ^C	
#	Boundary of piece	
{ - }	Choose any one	

² The appropriation of linguistic symbols to represent the flow of segments in a musical performance is not meant to suggest any analogy between this analysis and transformational grammar. It has been shown repeatedly that it is possible to make musical analysis at least look like a transformational grammar in the Chomskian mould, but that is not my purpose in the section. Whereas linguistics deals with single words or relatively short utterances, the discussion here concerns the enchainment of larger elements (paragraphs or chapters, if you will) without considering their internal structure. Furthermore, transformational grammars do not deal with actual performance, which is, of course, the focus of this section. However, I see no reason not to borrow such an economical symbology, whose meaning is well established, and can be easily explained or reinterpreted. After all, the linguists originally took their system from mathematics, logic, and the natural sciences. I am indebted to Carol Eastman for her help in producing this third generation (bar sinister) symbolic system. The accuracy and validity of the analysis is my responsibility.

The model of performance suggested by the rwais gives a good, general idea of the order of segments in a piece, but it simplified drastically the variety and complexity of forms in actual performance. The model does not include comedy or prayer, for example. Strictly speaking, these are verbal, not musical elements of performance; but in certain circumstances, they are the dominant elements of performances, with a pronounced effect on musical form. Further, the musicians may choose to expand or eliminate any given segment; thus, the "same" piece may last from 3 minutes to 45 minutes on different occasions. Finally, even the order of segments is subject to considerable variation. The variation from performance to performance is not random, however. Each situation in which the rwais perform--the marketplace, private parties, commercial establishments, and the electronic media--poses certain constraints on the musicians, causing them to emphasize one or another of the aspects of performance in response to the nature of the audience, the physical ambiance, and the financial arrangements involved.

2.2 Jama^C El-Fna

The most common type of performance by the rwais takes place in the open air, at country suq-s and in urban marketplaces. In the simplest situation, the rwais--one or two at most--wander among the shops and cafes. They play short snatches of song (if not waved away by the proprietor) in exchange for small coins. The same technique is used, door to door, in more remote villages in the mountains, in which case the musicians can generally expect no more than payment in kind--milk, butter, or grain.

More frequently, the rwais meet their audience on neutral territory. Both suq-s and cities generally have an area reserved for public entertainment. These open places attract all sorts of entertainers, not only rwais, but acrobats, magicians, fortune tellers, gamblers, and so forth. Each group or individual performer tries to form a circle (ḥalqa, pl., ḥlaqi, from the Arabic word for circle or throat; in tashlhit: lḥalqt) of spectators who will provide both a backdrop for the action and the money to make it all worthwhile.

The most impressive assemblage of ḥlaqi can be found on Jama^C el-Fna, a large open square which lies between the Kutubia mosque and the main market area of Marrakech. Like a country suq in the heart of the city, Jama^C el-Fna is a place of mediation and transition, where rural Morocco becomes urban, and where North Africa meets Europe.

Nearly all the inter-city taxis and bus lines which serve Marrakech have their terminals here, as do the municipal buses, taxis, and Victoria cabs. Half a dozen hotels, including the luxurious Club Méditerranée, line the perimeter of the square, and at least thirty more fill the narrow streets adjacent to it. A couple of these are solid three-star hotels catering to middle-class tourists, but most are modest, converted houses or the traditional, caravanserai-like funduq-s

More often than not, buses, hotels, and the square itself are filled to overflowing, because Marrakech offers a wide range of urban goods and services within five minutes walk of Jama^C el-Fna. Off one end of the square are market streets offering everything from almonds and brassware to radios and wrist watches. Near another corner are myriad shops selling bedframes and kitchen utensils, and wholesalers dealing in cloth and ready-made garments specifically designed for the

rural market. For Marrakchis and the inhabitants of the region, there is a still more potent drawing card in the nearby government buildings, where taxes are paid, disputes settled, papers validated, and passport applications filed.

While the outskirts of Jama^C el-Fna are devoted to serious business, the square itself is given over to diversion. The open area of the "square" measures about 100,000 square feet, divided into a rectangle and adjacent triangle. Merchants and prepared-food vendors operate out of small shanties and pushcarts along the edges of each section. These structures, shaky if not actually collapsible, threaten to disappear overnight, like the tents of a country market. Indeed, it often seems that the only permanent feature of the square is the constant ebb and flow of humanity.

At first glance, the activity on Jama^C el-Fna seems chaotic. This disorder is sometimes real (e.g., the "disorderly conduct" of occasional drunks or fighters), but most often it is only apparent, like the disorder in nature which, on closer examination, turns out to be strictly patterned. Jama^C el-Fna might be likened to an eco-system, such as a pond or estuary, which undergoes daily and seasonal cycles of change (see Appendix I).

The square is never totally devoid of activity. Even in the hours between midnight and dawn, a few food and cigarette vendors remain open, primarily to serve, at inflated prices--arriving or departing travelers. In early morning, the pace is still slow; as merchants begin to set out their wares, entertainment is largely confined to snake charmers, storytellers, fortune tellers, public writers, and medicine men. By late

morning one can choose between several groups of musicians, but during the early afternoon, activity falls almost to a late-night level. As the mid-afternoon prayer (1-^Casr) approaches, more performers begin to emerge, the daily life cycle reaches its peak in the hours before sunset, when as many as forty or more hlaqi operate simultaneously. As darkness falls, most hlaqi begin to disperse, leaving the square to food vendors (who are at their busiest at this time), and a few story tellers, urban Arab musicians, and members of the Gnawa religious brotherhood.

This schedule varies during the course of a week or a year. In winter, rain and cold can all but eliminate the hlaqi from the square, and the heat of the summer extends the mid-afternoon doldrums. On Sundays and holidays, the hlaqi thrive on large crowds of spectators, but a concomitant growth in the number of parked cars consumes parts of the playing area. Religious holidays have a particularly radical effect on the eco-system. Before ^CAid el-Kebir (the Feast of Sacrifice), ^CAid eṣ-Ṣaghīr (marking the end of Ramaḍan), and ^CAshura (tithing day), many groups are displaced from their "natural habitat" on the rectangle to make room for temporary booths selling seasonal specialties. During Ramaḍan (the month of fasting) there are, of course, no cafes, restaurants, or cigarette sellers working during daylight hours. The hlaqi, however, are particularly active during the late afternoon, as a means of diverting the mind from the rigors of fasting. In a marked departure from the normal daily schedule, a number of hlaqi resume performance after the fast is broken at sunset, and, along, with special food vendors, remain active until dawn.

The pattern of activity of Jama^C el-Fna is determined by natural forces, like the passage of seasons, and all-encompassing human events,

like religious holidays. Within the larger system, the various organ-
isms--that is, the hlaqi and merchants--behave in an equally predictable
manner. Only a very few entertainers behave nomadically, choosing a
different spot each time they perform. Most types of halqa follow regu-
lar patterns of distribution. Public writers, for example, organize
themselves in a neat line opposite a row of shops, while fortune tellers
disperse themselves over the entire square. Some musicians are migra-
tory, consistently occupying one area each morning, and another in the
afternoon.

In late morning, a few solo rwais and small groups of three or four
play near the middle of the triangle. These are usually younger musi-
cians in need of experience, or men past their prime in urgent need of
money. In the afternoon, more rwais come out to play at the very edge
of the triangle. Here, in a relatively small space, two to five hlaqi
or rwais gather along with other tashlhit-speaking performers: two or
three preachers and storytellers, a comedian or two, a couple of solo
rwais, and, occasionally, an ahwash drummer. Twenty feet away are the
acrobats, also Berbers from the High Atlas. The Ishlhin always crowd
into this space even on a slow afternoon when there is room elsewhere.

No one oversees the arrangement of groups. No space is marked out
on the pavement; no permit is issued by the city, although that may
come.³ Yet day after day groups occupy exactly the same places, as

³ At one time or another, the city government has proposed various
measures for regulating the number, type and location of musicians on
the square. Various commercial interests have lobbied to turn all of
Jama^c el-Fna into a parking lot or developed real estate. A number of
sources, including Eleanor Roosevelt and several musicians still active
on the square, have claimed credit for interceding with the King or his
late father to avert this tragedy.

though they were guarded by an invisible fence. More remarkable still, they do so without obvious conflict between groups, even when there is barely enough space to move between hlaqi. The secret to maintaining a position on the square is timing. It is understood that various groups have priority over certain spots, but they must still stake their claims well in advance for those hours, like late afternoon, when space is at a premium. Thus, from about 2:00 p.m. on, musicians begin to mark their spots with small cairns of instruments or clothes.⁴ These possessions are secure; shopkeepers and other permanent denizens of the square keep a watchful eye on the piles, and, in any case, a musician's worldly goods offer little temptation to most thieves. As the midafternoon prayer approaches, however, novice musicians are sent out to guard not the instruments, but the spot, until the rest of the group arrives.

Each halqa also has its own internal order. Viewed from above, the hlaqi resemble so many amoebae under a microscope. The audience, of course, forms the cell wall, whose shape changes constantly as spectators come and go. The rwais work continually to maintain a halqa of ideal shape and density. When spectators are scarce, one of the musicians

4 Traditionally, the rwais wore floor-length white robes (fugiya) with full sleeves, belted at the waist. Young apprentices sometimes wore earrings and jewelled silver chains across the forehead, in imitation of female dancers (see photos in Chottin 1933). I have occasionally seen the rwais wear belted fugiya-s (white or colored) at private performances. In most situations today, however, the rwais' performance garb consists of a jellaha (long, hooded outer garment), rzza (embroidered turban), a decorated dagger (l-kumit) slung over the shoulder on a braided silk cord (l-mejdu), and blgha (backless pointed-toe slippers). The jellaha is made of cotton or synthetic cloth, often light enough to allow the bright colors of the rwais' under-robes (fugiya) to show through. No item of clothing is particularly unusual, although l-kumit is certainly an anachronism. Nevertheless, the complete outfit--particularly the way the rwais fold and wrap the turban (see frontispiece)--makes the rwais unmistakable in a crowd, even without their instruments.

tries to close up ranks by pushing stragglers into a semi-circle. When the crowd is large, the rwais coax the inner circle to sit down, in order to make a firm boundary and allow those in back to see.

The musicians themselves are the nucleus of the cell. The size of the performing group varies widely from ḥalqa to ḥalqa. Some musicians demand complete autonomy, and perform most frequently as soloists. Others team up in permanent groups of two or three, traveling together and sharing both income and expenses. In order to cut down on competition and concentrate the crowd, soloists and small bands often form temporary alliance groups which may number up to fifteen musicians, sufficient in number to handle all the different chores in the ḥalqa without having to split up the day's take into too many small shares.

2.3 Performance in the Ḥalqa

To open the ḥalqa, the naqus player (bu naqus) beats a rapid pulse as loudly as he can, the pattern known as ti-n-lḥalqt. The musicians take out their instruments and tune, and then check their tuning by playing an astara. The back-up musicians may hold a drone to support the leader's astara, but just as frequently each musician warms up by playing his own improvisation in a different part of the circle. These sounds of preparation may draw a crowd of one to two hundred spectators in a matter of minutes.

When tuning is completed and a sufficient crowd has gathered, the rwais gravitate to the center of the circle, and confer on a ṭbil with which to begin their act. The ṭbil accompanies a sedate circle dance, in which the rwais move in and out from the center, and back and forth

around the edge of the circle. As the music changes from ṭbil to l-adrub the symmetrical group dance gradually evolves into a soloistic dance (rkkza, from the Arabic word for stamping, or pounding mud bricks), in which the rwais, singly or in groups, race across the ḥalqa, stamping out different rhythmic patterns with their feet. Each rkkza pattern ends when the rais leaves and lands on the beat, right in front of the naqus player. In a playful mood, the rwais may take a kick at bu naqus, or tumble into him. Rkkza contests or races also provide the opportunity to introduce the *dramatis personae*. The musicians are identified by name and tribe as they come forward, and each reveals a bit of his professional personality in his dance style and in the wisecracks offered between heats.

After several l-adrub, sometimes interspersed with qta^c (the closing formulae), the sung poetry (amarg) begins. The rwais form a line on one side of the ḥalqa (usually the east, facing the setting sun) while the lead singer stands opposite them. According to the rwais' own model, this should be the heart of the performance. In fact, however, the ḥalqa imposes a different set of priorities.

The opening of the ḥalqa, from the beginning of ti-n-lḥalqt through the first song, takes about fifteen to twenty minutes. It is the longest uninterrupted stretch of music in the afternoon's performance. Indeed, even this section can hardly be said to be uninterrupted, because the lead singer is never allowed to finish that first song, or any song for that matter.

After the leader has had a few minutes to spin out his song, one or two of the other rwais find a pretext to stop him, by criticizing the

song text, interpretation, or style. This interruption, which may arise out of real disagreement about procedure, is actually a calculated entree into mashkhara, the comedy routine.

RAK: "Why are you standing like that? Is that any way to run a halqa?"
 ROR: "What do you know? Listen to how it would sound if you were in my place (playing off key)." And so on, until they start slapping each other around, pushing and chasing. MyL comes between them to try to break up the fight, and they both start to beat up on him. He is driven out of the circle, and comes back pushing a spectator in front of him for protection. But RAK and ROR pay him little attention, except for a few swats, and return to chasing each other around, coming finally to LTZ, the ostensible leader of the group. ROR hides behind him, asking for protection and mediation. But it is decided that ROR is somehow at fault (perhaps he is not yet a Muslim, i.e., circumcized) and is carried around by RAK, MyL, and AAR, arms around the shoulders of two, and feet held up by another. At this point, LTZ plays alternating semi-tones, imitating an ambulance or police siren. Others proclaim his imminent circumcision. He is eventually let down, and MyL comes in for a few more swats with a slipper. After his first beating, MyL had felt it necessary to slump down next to a seated spectator, with his head on the man's shoulder, catching his breath. Now he staggers around the halqa; warned of the presence of a woman seated on the opposite side (he had almost backed into her earlier), he deliberately falls backward into her lap.

The comedy routine, whatever the pretext, always escalates from what seems to be a normal piece of halqa business into some kind of exaggerated physical confrontation. Obviously dependent on heavy slapstick, the humor is often frankly bawdy or, at the very least, rich in double entendre. Both the profanity and the violence provoke smiles or outright laughter from the audience. It might be argued, however, that the primary effect is to ease the transition from music to speech, and hence pave the way for a pitch for money.

The audience contributes to the spectacle in a number of ways. There is, of course, the unmeasurable "audience input" which informs and inspires any public performance. Given the proximity of musicians and audience in a halqa, that input can be intense. As the example above

shows, the spectators have a more dramatic contribution to make. In the normal course of events, they serve as both backdrop and boundary for the playing area. When the performance turns to comedy, they become straight men and stage properties. In general, only the poor and unemployed have the time or the inclination to stand around watching the hlaqi, so the rwais have no reservations about manhandling members of the audience, or making them the butt of their jokes. It must also be noted that the spectators, for their part, are willing victims, enjoying the excitement and attention. In short, the rwais are willing to try anything to involve the audience in their act, in order to soften spectators up for the pitch, and elicit their most tangible contribution-- money.

The request for money is always couched initially in religious terms; indeed, the pitch is called fatha, from the Arabic al-fatiha, the brief opening chapter (sura) of the Qur'an. The rais who "reads" the fatha calls on all present to hold out their hands and join him in prayer. He then goes through a long invocation to God, asking for blessings upon the King, his family, his army, and upon all believers. After each burst of blessings, the audience is asked to clap hands in unison, once, twice, three times, sealing the blessings as they come down from the sky. As this is going on, the leader or another member of the group begins to patrol the perimeter of the circle, looking for donations. At this stage of the afternoon (still only a half-hour into the performance), it is not necessary to pressure the crowd much, and four or five people make offerings before the collector gets halfway around the circle. If a contribution is large enough (over 50 centimes, or about 11¢),⁵ the

donor merits a special prayer, particularly if the musicians know the person or his family.

The rwais claim that they are not seeking money, only the blessings (baraka) that money can provide. When presented with payment in kind, however, the rwais use it as the subject of a brief, impromptu sermon to vary the fatha and enhance the object's value; then they try to convert the gift back into cash.

(A woman donates a candle.)

RMB: Ah, rwais.

All: Yes.

RMB: (Takes candle and tries unsuccessfully to stand it up on the ground.) Look at this candle. A woman has given it to us. Look there. (Points to the Kutubia minaret, where a light has just been lit to announce prayer time.) It is sunset, the maghreb. The light on the mosque shows us the way to prayer. This candle is light. The woman has given us light. The Prophet is light, leading us to God. The King is light. This candle has light; it has baraka. The woman has given us baraka. What do you say, rwais? Rais Lahsen?

RLS: God help her.

RMB: Rais Mohamed?

RMM: God bless her parents. (and so on)

RMB: Now, who wants to buy this baraka?⁶

Another device used to garner more contributions is to count the money gathered, announce the amount, and then ask the audience to round out the figure by adding 50 centimes, or whatever, to make an even two dirhams, or five, or ten. The understanding is that if the money is collected, the music will proceed, though that is by no means always the case.

5 The Dirham, the official unit of currency in Morocco, is divided into 100 centimes (formerly francs). In recent years, the exchange rate of the dirham has ranged, with the fluctuating value of the dollar, between 20¢ and 25¢. In most parts of the country, the standard unit of currency is the ryal, worth five centimes.

6 The same device is frequently used by mystic brotherhoods and religious lodges to multiply their income from donations made by pilgrims and devotees. Another example and analysis of the procedure can be found in Schuyler 1978b.

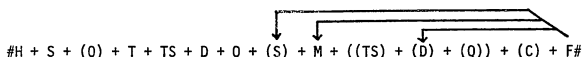
The rwais push the fathā to the limits of tolerance, sometimes running it out for forty minutes at a time. In spite of that, a group seldom takes in more than 30 dirhams in an afternoon, and the normal take is less than half that. If money is slow in coming in, the rwais take a hectoring tone, and the audience diminishes. Indeed, it is the dispersing audience more than the amount of money taken in which turns the rwais back to music. At times, they push their luck too far, and must start up again almost from scratch, or pack up their instruments and go home.

After the first introductory stretch of music and the first long fathā, the halqa performance is a pastiche of music, comedy and pitch. Often, all three go on simultaneously. Astara, amarg, and l-adrub may be injected into performance, independent of one another. Only at the very end of the afternoon, as darkness falls, do the rwais again play a straight twenty minutes of music, relatively uninterrupted.

Usually, the rwais cannot resist a final pitch, but the last benefits may not be theirs alone. By general consent, as the halqa draws to a close, beggars may come in and demand their share of the take. Though the musicians may initially try to resist or delay the incursion, they often end by making their pleas on the beggars' behalf, and allowing the invaders to take all the proceeds. In similar fashion, at a suq, a performer may distribute a share of his take directly to a group of assembled beggars.

Table 2 illustrates the flow of events in a halqa. Performance is continuous, and may last for three hours or more; conversely, it may be rained out in five minutes. The line of characters indicates the normal progression through the first half hour or so of performance, by which time all performance elements have been introduced. It is significant

TABLE 2
Performance in the Halqa



- H Ti-n-lhalqt (rapid pulse beat on naqus)
 S Astara (instrumental prelude in free rhythm)
 Q Qta^C (short cadential formula)
 T Tbil (dance overture in slow duple time)
 TS Tamsust (accelerating bridge between sections)
 D L-Adrub (rapid dance melodies in compound duple)
 M Amarg (sung poetry)
 C Comedy
 F Fatha (prayer/plea for money)

() Optional segment

↵ Option to repeat segment

---_n^0 Sequence of n different examples of same genre

[] Co-occurring segments

$[-]_n^0$ Simultaneous occurrence of n different realizations of same genre

∅ Silence

$\text{---}/$ May be accompanied by following segments

$$D = D_n^0$$

$$D_n^0 = D^1 + ((Q) + ((\emptyset) + (S))) + D^2 \dots D^n$$

$$M = M_n^0$$

$$M_n^0 = M^1 + (TS) + ((D) + ((Q) + (S))) + M^2 \dots M^n$$

$$H = \text{---} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{Tuning} \\ [S]_n^0 \end{bmatrix}$$

$$F = \text{---} / \begin{bmatrix} [S]_n^0 \\ M \\ D \end{bmatrix}$$

TABLE 2a
Sample Realizations of Halqa Performance

1. #H + S + T + D¹ + Q + D² + Q + Ø + S + D³ + Q + S + M + C + F. . #
2. #. . .F + $\frac{F}{D}$ + $\frac{F}{S}$ + M + D + Q + F + $\frac{F}{M}$ + D₅⁰ + Q + F#

that the fathā comes last, because, for the rwais at least, all events seem to build up to the pitch. Parentheses indicate optional segments. For example, as we have seen, it is normal procedure to break from the first song directly to comedy or fathā (sample realization 1, p. 24). From the fathā it is possible to return to any of the segments indicated by arrows, and begin the series of options again (sample realization 2).

Square brackets signify co-occurrence of several segments, as, for example, during the beating of ti-n-lḥalqt, when the musicians tune up and play separate astara-s; or, again, during the fathā, when the group may play unrelated scraps of music while one rais gives the pitch. The rules for enchaining and embedding l-aḍrub and amarg can apply in every performance situation. Indeed, it is customary to enchain as many as a dozen qḍerb melodies to extend a performance; the introduction of qṭa^C and, particularly, an astara between two qḍerb melodies usually signals a change in solo dancers. The enchaining of two songs, on the other hand, is quite rare in the ḥalqa, since the rwais do not want to give the audience too much music in return for the meager take.

While the outline of performance in Table 2 gives a good idea of the options open to the rwais for structural improvisation, it cannot convey completely the fragmentation of performance, which sometimes seems to border on musical anarchy. The music which accompanies the fathā, for example, is sometimes well coordinated and played by all members of the

group while one silently takes up the collection. The pitch can, however, be as tiresome for performers as it is for listeners. To relieve the boredom, the rwais often converse among themselves, and occasionally one or more musicians may start practicing separate melodies. At other times, several musicians may strike up a song over the fathā, as a signal that they think the pitch has gone on long enough.

The rwais do not consider these random interjections a part of public performance so much as private communication between members of the group. Yet fragmentation is clearly inevitable given the nature of ḥalqa performance. The ḥalqa is in many ways the most challenging situation faced by the rwais. Their performance must be continuous and varied, lest the crowd dwindle. At the same time, the musicians must take time to organize the spectators into an orderly group, spaced as aesthetically and comfortably as possible. Above all, the rwais must persuade the audience, often as poor as the musicians themselves, to pay for the spectacle. Operating simultaneously as producers, directors, and performers in their own show, the rwais could scarcely avoid a certain amount of disorganization in their music.

The fragmentation of performance is also part of a conscious effort to manipulate the audience. By playing on audience expectations, the rwais keep the crowd in suspense, all with a view to increasing their take. When a song is cut off, a number of spectators generally ante up immediately so the musicians will get on with the show. Experienced ḥalqa-watchers know that that is not a likely eventuality, and may begin to drift off as soon as the fathā begins. An astara (the usual prelude to performance) thrown at random into the fathā can stay this drift, by

suggesting that the rwais are preparing to perform another song. More often than not, that promise is not kept, but it may keep the crowd around until the musicians have exacted their toll. If, on the other hand, the audience fails to respond to their pleas, the musicians may pack up their instruments and leave the square.

Fatḥa and comedy are such a dominant part of the ḥalqa that several Ishlḥin (non-musicians) suggested to me that mashkhara is actually the main attraction, and the audience does not expect to hear much music. Certainly the performance includes far more talk than music. In any case, while it must be admitted that the ḥalqa often offers amusing drama, real aficionados of amarg must look for their entertainment elsewhere.

CHAPTER 3

PRIVATE PARTIES

Starting with a naming ceremony seven days after birth, a number of events in a Moroccan's life are celebrated with private parties. Subsequent rites of passage include circumcision, engagement, marriage, the return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and death. Annual events, such as national or religious holidays, or the felicitous resolution of personal crises, like recovery from illness or success in an important examination, may also serve as occasions for parties.

The particulars of each feast vary according to the event which motivates them, but the general characteristics remain the same. The parties are as large and lavish as the host can afford--and often somewhat more so. Most of the budget goes for food, including as much meat as possible, preferably from animals sacrificed for the occasion.

The celebrations require the participation of a person's entire alliance group; not just close family and friends, but the greater part of a village, tribal segment, or urban neighborhood. A marriage, in particular, is not the joining of two individuals to create a new family, but rather a new bond between two extended families that already exist, and are very likely already linked. Indeed, for maximum size and economy, several weddings, or simultaneous weddings and circumcisions, may be organized jointly.

Ideally, the events should be sanctified by the recitation of the Qur'an by a group of ṭolba (religious scholars), though in fact the ṭolba are indispensable only at a funeral. On happier occasions, music plays a key role in the success of the party. Since many feasts are actually made up of a series of parties, spanning a period of several days and a

distance of many kilometers, there can be several types of music, amateur, professional, or both.

The choice of entertainment depends less on the nature of the event celebrated than on the social context, urban or rural, surrounding the party. The urban-rural dichotomy in this case is not so much a matter of geography as of the background and taste of the host and guests. Recent immigrants to the city--particularly those living in shantytowns on the outskirts of town--tend to hold onto their country ways, while back in the village a school master or an emigrant laborer recently returned from Europe likes to exhibit his urbanity.¹ Thus, a "country" wedding can take place in the city, and vice versa.

The rwais are equally at home performing in the city or the country. However, under the influence of other groups of musicians with whom they share the limelight, the rwais modify their performance to suit the different audiences. In the country, an ahwash (communal dance) is the expected entertainment at any feast given by the Ishlḥin; the rwais appear only when an ahwash is impossible, or when the host wants to display sophistication or conspicuous consumption. Among urbanized Ishlḥin, the rwais are the preferred form of entertainment, but their music may be mixed with that of other professional groups from the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic plain. Since the rwais have been influenced by both the village music of the tashlḥit-speaking region and the professional music of other areas, it is appropriate to examine briefly these contrasting styles.

¹ Both tendencies have been noted in studies of Northern Morocco. Crapanzano (1973:126) found the former phenomenon in the bidonvilles (shantytowns) around the city of Meknes. Rabinow (1975:83) remarked on the opposite tendency in a soldier returned to his native village in the Middle Atlas.

3.1 Ahwash and Rural Parties

Literally, ahwash means "a dance" (from the tashlbit verb hush, to dance). Usually, however, the term is used to describe a complete piece, with successive emphasis on sung poetry, choral song, dance and drumming. More broadly, ahwash can be understood as an entire evening of music, or even music in general.

More than mere entertainment, ahwash is an integral part of a feast, and of village life in general. Participation in the dance is a way of expressing group unity. At the same time, it provides the opportunity to resolve social conflict. Feuding factions and individuals can argue the greater good in poetic duels (abaraz), and deviant behavior can be obliquely criticized. The dance also offers a suitable occasion for courtship, at least as much as courtship can be pursued under the eyes of several hundred relatives and guests.

The rules governing performance style and participation in ahwash range noticeably from village to village, yet there are certain elements of performance common to ahwash everywhere in the region. Performers may number as many as one hundred fifty or more, though in my experience somewhat smaller groups are more usual. The singers divide into two antiphonal choruses. When both male and female villagers participate in the same ahwash, the choruses are sexually segregated.² The accompanists, from two to thirty in number, join in one of the lines, or form a third group. At the core of the participants is a group of specialists,

2 The sexual segregation in ahwash is in direct contrast to the communal music of the Middle Atlas (ahidus), where male and female dancers frequently alternate in the same line.

sometimes called the ait uhwash (people of the ahwash), known for their passion for the dance and their skill as poets, singers, and drummers.

The principal (and often the only) accompanying instrument is the tallunt, a frame drum, sometimes equipped with a snare (adinan; c.f. the Arab bendir). Other instruments may include the bengri, a side drum borrowed from the Gnawa brotherhood; tiqarqawin (Arabic: qaraqeb), metal double castanets, also borrowed from the Gnawa; the naqus; and the tagwamt, a six-inch end-blown flute.

In many respects, ahwash and the music of the rwais are polar opposites. Though ahwash performers may be rewarded with special servings of food, gifts of clothing, or even cash, the ait uhwash are basically local amateurs, who perform only under inspiring circumstances. The rwais, of course, are professionals, most often brought in from outside the community. A minimum of fifteen performers is required to generate the collective energy necessary for ahwash. Amarg, in contrast, is an individualistic art; the rwais can barely sustain a performance with more than a dozen musicians. With the exception of the flute, an ahwash is accompanied entirely by instruments of percussion, particularly membranophones. The rwais, on the other hand, rely primarily on chordophones; the professionals almost never use drums in the halqa or rural weddings, and include the flute in their ensembles only in occasional recording sessions. In fact, the naqus is the only instrument truly held in common by the two styles (see Chapter 6).

Despite these differences, however, village music is the principal source of the professional repertory. Without exception, the rwais are of rural origin, and grew up hearing and performing village music.

Ahwash has provided a model for both the form and imagery of the rwais' poetry, as well as the basic elements of their musical style--responsorial melodic form, pentatonic modes, and compound duple rhythms. Although many rwais have now settled in the city, young musicians are still advised to travel extensively in the mountains, collecting melodies and scraps of poetry to weave into their own compositions. The influence of village music is most evident in astara and l-agrub: the rwais are unanimous in attributing the origin of these forms to the Cawwada (flute players) of the HaJa tribe in the western High Atlas. But professional musicians have borrowed widely from the village music of other tribes as well, fusing the diverse elements into the only style shared by all Ishlhin.

Ahwash has another, more subtle influence on the rwais' performance. The transmission of ideas between village and professional repertoires is not unilateral. The ait uhwash listen to the rwais with special care, hoping to expand their own repertory with tunes and poems composed by the rwais or brought by them from other tribes. In any case, as poets and musicians themselves, villagers constitute a knowledgeable and enthusiastic audience. As a result, rural parties elicit from the rwais their most inspired performance.

An ahwash is practically impossible to organize in the city. Few urban houses are sufficiently spacious for the requisite numbers of dancers and spectators. Further, while Agadir, Casablanca, and Marrakech all have substantial numbers of Ishlhin, it would be difficult to assemble a large group from a single village, and nearly impossible to gather anything resembling the ait uhwash. Finally, long-time residents of the

city often lose their interest and ability to perform village music as they acquire some urban sophistication and a taste for other kinds of entertainment. Better then, they reason, to bring in groups of professionals to provide proper entertainment.

3.2 Sheikhat and Urban Parties

In the course of an evening at a party in Marrakech, for example, I often witnessed performances of several genres of music. A set of amarg might be followed by one of Middle Atlas music (izlan), and then music from the plains north and west of Marrakech (Caiṭa). This mixture reflects both the mixed origin of the guests and the catholic taste of urban residents exposed to different kinds of music.

Though amarg, izlan, and Caiṭa are all from different regions of southern and central Morocco, the three styles have much in common. The aspects in which amarg differs from village music--status of musicians, group size, and instrument type--are exactly those features which it shares with izlan and Caiṭa. The shiakh (sing., sheikh; lit., old man, leader) of izlan and Caiṭa are professional musicians of rural origin, from the Middle Atlas and Atlantic Plains, respectively. Like the rwais, they are often itinerant and perform in small groups. Izlan and Caiṭa are accompanied by a variety of drums, including the bendir (frame drum), taCarija (6-8 inch, single-headed hourglass drum), and derbuga. But the principal accompanying instruments are the kaman/kamanja (European violin or viola, played vertically), the ginbri (a three-stringed lute, similar to the lotar), and sometimes the Cud. These chordophones, while not identical to the rribab and lotar, at least correspond in type to the rwais' instruments.

Conversely, the elements of performance which amarg shares with ahwash are precisely those which distinguish it from izlan and Caiṭa. Caiṭa is sung in dialectical Arabic, izlan in tamazight (Middle Atlas Berber); both languages are related to, but quite distinct from, the High Atlas dialect, tashlhit. The shiakh also use different musical languages. In contrast to the wide-leaping pentatonic melodies of the Ishlhin, the melodies of the shiakh move sinuously through the neutral intervals of an Arab-influenced scale. Seldom exceeding an ambitus of a fifth, the long phrases seem to make up in time what they lack in space. Though amarg, izlan, and Caiṭa are all set primarily to compound duple rhythms, the Middle Atlas and rural Arab styles make frequent use of asymmetrical patterns.

The separate influences of ahwash on the one hand, and Caiṭa, above all, on the other, is reflected in the rwais' technical vocabulary. The terminology for music and poetry (e.g., amarg, astara, tamsust) is drawn primarily from tashlhit. In contrast, the term rais itself is an Arabic word for professional. More significantly, the names for the rwais' instruments have been borrowed directly from Arabic, and the terms rribab and lotar can be traced to a Persian origin. In short, one might argue that the rwais' style originally developed as a composite genre, its content derived from Berber village music, and its instrumentation and organization provided by Caiṭa or some similar style in the Arabo-Persian tradition.

In recent years, Caiṭa and izlan have had a more direct influence on the rwais. Wealthy patrons may hire two or three separate groups, but hosts of more modest means seek both variety and economy. There has

thus been an increasing tendency among musicians to broaden their repertory to accommodate a variety of instruments and musical styles; as a purely practical consideration, such versatility increases the rwais' opportunities for employment. For example, one group of four musicians included two rwais, playing rribab and lotar, backed up by a naqus player and a decidedly nontraditional derbuga. In a set of izlan or Caïta, the bu naqus assumed the role of lead musician, playing the Cud; the derbuga player retained his instrument; one of the rwais retuned his lotar in fourths to match the Cud; and the other rais played bendir or naqus, according to his mood.

Bi-musicality has had little effect on the content of amarg. A few examples of poetry have been translated into Arabic for the benefit of non-Ishlḥin, and occasional snatches of diatonic melody may be injected into performance as a mark of virtuosity. For the most part, however, while the musicians have been acculturated, their music has not. Thus, in a sense, when the rwais switch instruments and languages to perform another kind of music, they cease to be rwais (see Chapter 10).

Certain external aspects of performance have, however, been affected by the association of rwais with other groups of professionals. In an urban context, for example, drums have become an accepted part of the rwais' ensemble. But the most striking example of the influence of izlan and Caïta is the use of female singers and dancers. Among the Ishlḥin, these women are known as raisat, elsewhere as sheikhat.

In the Arabic-speaking tribes of the Atlantic plain, sheikhat are the most highly-valued entertainers. Male musicians (shiakh) are needed to form a back-up band, but women do most of the singing and drumming

themselves. Arab sheikhat also improvise poetry and a few at least preserve esoteric knowledge of little-used musical forms. Among the tamazight-speaking Berbers of the Middle Atlas, professional musicians fall into at least two categories: the Imdyazn, who, like traditional rwais, are exclusively male, and combine high-minded religious and social commentary with slapstick comedy (Roux 1923 and 1928); and the shiakh of izlan, generally regarded as a lighter genre. The shiakh often perform alone, but sheikhat are indispensable for a full performance. In fact, in both the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic plain, female dancers are so important that Caiṭa, izlan, and related styles are known generically as sheikhat.

Female dancers (raisat) are less essential to the rwais. The rwais themselves, as the performance in the ḥalqa demonstrates, are quite capable of putting on a complete spectacle of music and dance. At country weddings, too, the rwais almost always perform alone. Contrary to the beliefs of many of my village informants, the raisat are by no means all engaged in prostitution, but their frank use of sexual enticement in performance renders them unsuitable for use in most village situations. Among emigrant Ishlḥin in the city, on the other hand, the moral constraints that operate in the village become somewhat relaxed. Further, since not all members of an urban audience understand or appreciate amarg, raisat broaden a group's appeal. Even the best raisat today compose no poetry, and so must depend on a rais to provide them with texts as well as accompaniment. But many raisat sing well, and a few rank among the real stars of amarg.

The performance of the raisat leaves no doubt that they are a product of Arab influence. During the performance of a song, the raisat dance in line, supporting the naqus beat with finger cymbals (niuqsat, lit., little bells). Occasionally they move forward and back in line, bending deep at the waist with arms dangling, swinging their heads and shoulders in imitation of some ahwash steps. The most important dance of the raisat, however, takes place during l-adrub, when the women move out from the line in pairs. They approach each other from opposite ends of the performance area, doing suggestive shimmies and rolls with their hips. After several passes in this fashion, they go down on their knees, facing each other. Arms akimbo, they shake shoulders and hips, and gradually arch their backs until they touch the floor, gyrating their pelvises in imitation of the sexual act. These steps--and the dancers themselves--could be substituted in a performance by the sheikhat. Indeed, while the rwais are inevitably Ishlḥin, a few raisat at least are natives of Arabic- or tamazight-speaking communities.

3.3 Private Parties: the Rwais' Performance

Private performance usually takes place in the courtyard of a house, or, in a village, on the threshing ground or other open area (asarag). Five to seven musicians is again the ideal size for an all-male group, allowing for four to six musician/dancers in addition to the lead singer and bu naqus. When raisat appear there may be six to eight dancers; three, or at most four, male musicians are considered sufficient for the back-up band. An all-male group is physically arranged just as in the halqa. When the ensemble includes raisat/sheikhat, the women dominate

the dance area; the men refrain from dancing, and cluster together off to one side.

Guests sit on benches, rugs, and mats laid out around the edge of the enclosure. At a men's party, urban or rural, the men spread out around the center of action, while women are tucked away in an inaccessible corner of the court, or, more usually, given an overhead view from the upper levels or roof of the house. At their own parties, women take ringside seats; in principle, no adult males are present, except the musicians, the host, and a few other men needed to help run the affair.

Performance is divided into sets, each a half-hour to an hour in length. The first set may consist entirely of tbil and l-adrub. Subsequent sets are made up of long, uninterrupted songs, interspersed with equally long passages of l-adrub and dance. The party may last until dawn, but between sets musicians are allowed to relax over tea, cookies, and a full meal.

Private performances are the rwais' bread and butter. During the season of feasts in late summer and early fall, a competent group works at least several nights a week. At a wedding, every member of the band can make 100 Dirhams or more in a single night; musicians, and especially dancers, rely on their summer's earnings to help them survive months of unemployment in the winter, or to pay off debts from the previous year.

Since the musicians are generally guaranteed a certain sum of money for private performance,³ it is no longer necessary for them to "read" a fatha, nor to withhold music from their audience. Quite the contrary, the rwais are aware that the spectators may reward them for outstanding musical performance, but not for preaching and entreating. Thus, the

rwais extend each piece to great lengths, often enchainning two or more songs.

Frequently, having completed a precomposed text, the rwais begin to improvise verses dealing with recent events of general interest, or with the party itself. These improvised verses can prove a fertile source for supplementing their guaranteed income. The lead singer, with the help of a member of the wedding, if necessary, sings several lines about each guest, mentioning him by name, and discussing the nobility of his parents, children and profession. Often these are mere formulaic lines, with slots for the subject's name, village, and so on. A good poet, well acquainted with his subject, makes his description more precise. Whenever inspiration fails, however, the poet returns to his stock phrases, over and over again.

The praise-singing (known as tashajict, from tashjiC, the Arabic word for encouragement) recalls the days, as recently as twenty-five years ago, when the more powerful Berber gaïd-s (tribal government) kept personal troupes of rwais or raisat to entertain and sing of their master's ancestry and exploits. The rwais still reserve their most effusive praise for their most generous and powerful supporters, but any guest at a private party may be the subject of tashajict. In return, of course, the honored guest is expected to become the singer's patron, at least for the moment. In fact, as I frequently observed, the rais will continue to sing about a spectator until the latter comes forward with a bill, a coin, or some other symbolic contribution. In this way, the rwais can more than double the amount of money promised them by the host. Indeed, during the winter, when jobs are scarce, a group may agree to perform at

a party for no fee, counting on the revenues from tashajjīCt to make their appearance worthwhile.

For the connoisseur of amarg, tashajjīCt is a more pleasant method of extracting money than the fatha. Praise songs would not, however, bring good results in the ḥalqa. TashajjīCt depends for its effectiveness not on the satisfaction of the subject alone, but on the effect that the praise (or threat or criticism) makes on other listeners. Each new name is greeted with cheers from the audience, though whether this is out of agreement with the sentiments expressed by the rais, or from pleasure at seeing an acquaintance put on the spot is not always clear. In any event, the subject cannot disappear into the crowd, as he might in a ḥalqa. Peer pressure forces some sort of contribution, even if the donor has to borrow the money to do so. The better known the rais, the greater must be the gift. However, success is never a foregone conclusion, even for the most famous musicians; sometimes an individual, or an entire audience, may turn a reluctance to pay into a negative judgement of the performance as a whole.

The raisat have their own methods of gathering extra money for the group. Since they are not generally poets or improvisers, songs of praise fall outside of their repertory. The best singers may be rewarded spontaneously by exuberant guests, simply on the strength of their performance. Most raisat, however, rely on the dance. By dancing up to a likely guest and going down on one knee in a shimmy, a raisa virtually guarantees herself a tip. Just as in tashajjīCt, it is considered bad form for anyone singled out for this treatment to reject the suit.

The raisat also soften up their male patrons between sets, sitting among them, with much hand holding and nuzzling, a technique which usually earns them larger tips, or at least a few free cigarettes. This behavior is tolerated, if not always sanctioned, by everyone present at the party. Those who feel they cannot (or dare not) participate in such extramusical activity, for moral or financial reasons, have the sense to withdraw from the front line of spectators.

A fatha may occur--particularly in the country--right after the opening set, as part of the introduction of performers, or at the very end of performance. In this context, however, the primary recipient of both blessing and profits are the host and the object of the feast, the newlywed couple, newborn child, successful candidate for the baccalaureat, or whatever. At a country wedding, some sort of fatha is part of the ritual, and a specialist--not one of the musicians--is called in to handle it. The take may be phenomenal; at one wedding in Azud, I saw a man collect nearly 5000 dirhams in an hour. The proceeds help defray the cost of the feast and, if anything is left, to give the young couple a start in life.

Comedy has a place in private parties, but here again speech is isolated from musical entertainment. Except for occasional crashes into bu naqus, the random slapstick that characterizes comedy in the balqa is limited. For the most part, however, comedy at a party is the province of specialists. If one of the rwais happens to be a baqshish (comedian) as well, he may be given the chance to do his routine between sets of music.

Similarly, a village often has its own amateur theater group, which may perform during an evening of ahwash, or between sets by the rwais. These presentations are more elaborate than the comedy routines of professional musicians. Costumes are made in advance, and half a dozen or more men and boys dress up as women, Jews, old beggars, thieves, urban merchants, and other characters (including rwais) despised or feared by villagers. These little plays enjoy a suspension of shame, and, like ahwash, serve as a vehicle for working out tensions within society (Berque 1955:252).

Table 3 outlines the format of the rwais' performance at a private party. All the elements of the halqa are present in private performance, but the act progresses in a more orderly fashion. Additional boundary markers (#) indicate that private performance may be divided into sets, unlike the halqa, which proceeds in a continuous, if choppy, flow. At the same time, each set lasts up to 45 minutes or an hour, which is longer than any stretch of music in the halqa. The expansion of performance by the enchainning of songs and l-adrub is a key feature of private parties. At urban parties, amarg and l-adrub are balanced, with perhaps a slight emphasis on dance music. At a country party, the classic example of private performance, the focus of attention is on amarg. This emphasis is represented in the diagram by placing the rewrite rule for M_n^0 in the main sequence of segments.

Fatha and comedy, the main detours from amarg in the halqa, have been relegated to optional status. Strictly speaking, they are no longer a part of the rwais' act, since they are frequently eliminated, or performed by people other than the musicians. Even if performed

TABLE 3
Private Performance

$$\#(H) + S + T + TS + D_n^0 + Q\# \quad (F)$$

$$\#S + M^1 + (((TS) + (D)) + ((Q) + (S))) + M^2. . . M^n + D_n^0 + Q\# \quad (C) \quad (F)$$

H Ti-n-lhalqt

S Astara

Q Qta^C

T Tbil

TS Tamsust

D L-Adrub

M Amarg

C Comedy

F Fatha

() Option to eliminate segment

$_n^0$ Sequence of n different examples of same genre

$\left[_ \right]$ Co-occurring segments

$\left[_ \right]_n^0$ Simultaneous occurrence of n different realizations of same genre

\emptyset Silence

$_ /$ May be accompanied by following segments

$$D_n^0 = D^1 + ((Q) + ((\emptyset) + (S))) + D^2 + . . . D^n$$

$$H = _ / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Tuning} \\ [S]_n^0 \end{array} \right]$$

by the rwais, comedy and fatha are isolated from the rest of performance. They take place during clear breaks in the music, rather than being linked directly to it.

The gradual change of emphasis from amarg in a rural situation to dance in an urban context is indicative of deeper changes in the lives and music of the rwais. Performance of ahwash in the country uncovers the roots from which the rwais have sprung. The use of raisat/sheikhat and the mixture of styles at a wedding in town show the directions in which the rwais have been branching out.

CHAPTER 4

COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

Performance by the rwais in the halqa or at a private party remains much as it was a half century ago or more (cf. Barrows 1970:77-8; Chottin 1933:7-8). However, under the French Protectorate (1912-56) there arose new performance situations which would have been impossible without 20th century technology and the social and economic changes brought by colonialism. The most obvious technological change was the development of broadcasting and recording techniques, whose impact will be discussed below. The present chapter deals with another legacy of colonialism--the commercial exploitation of music.

Four different types of commercial establishment offer performances of Moroccan music, including amarg: 1. cabarets; 2. tourist restaurants; 3. tent theaters; and 4. cinema/concert halls. Performance in these establishments, even more than at an urban wedding, is characterized by the use of raisat/sheikhat and by the mixed ethnicity of both audience and performing groups. The distinguishing feature of these performances, however, is the alienation of musicians from the audience. Not only is the physical and social distance between performers and audience greater than in a traditional situation, but the flow of money and the reciprocal flow of blessings which linked musicians and spectators has largely been diverted through a third-party intermediary, the entrepreneur.

4.1 Cabarets

Some rwais claim that performance in night clubs, and the concomitant use of raisat, goes back only to the 1960's. A few older rwais, however, can recall working in quartiers réservés, such as BuSbir Jdid in Casablanca, as early as the 1930's. Prostitution was the raison d'être of the legal red light districts. The French administration was prepared to tolerate prostitution as a necessary evil, even during a period when it was forbidden in France, for the benefit of colonial troops and entrepreneurs, as well as the new wave of immigrant laborers from the countryside. Song and dance were meant to set the proper mood, and allow the women to display their charms.

The quartiers réservés are long gone, and prostitution is illegal in independent Morocco, but today's cabarets are left-overs, in spirit if not in fact, from colonial days. The cabarets are most numerous in Rabat and Casablanca, European-style cities par excellence; but wherever they are found, the cabarets are inevitably located in a new quarter of town, one of the areas designed and built (with Moroccan labor) by Europeans and for Europeans. Today a typical cabaret audience consists almost entirely of urbanized Moroccan men, but alcohol and women remain the principal enticements.

In order to attract the ethnically diverse urban audience, a night club show offers a variety of acts, including Middle Eastern style music, western-influenced popular bands, folk-revival groups, or popular folk musicians like rwais and sheikhat. In all, relatively few cabarets employ rwais on a regular basis--half a dozen in Casablanca, two or three in Rabat and Agadir, and one or two (intermittently) in

Marrakech. Yet almost every rais seems to pass through the cabaret circuit at one time or another. A few find the situation to their liking, and end up working permanently in the cabarets. Most, however, find conditions unsatisfactory, and, after a month or two, leave to seek their fortune elsewhere.

The pay in a cabaret is adequate if not generous. One top rais received 75 Dh a night for a limited engagement, and one or two others can command 50 Dh a night, seven nights a week for a year or more. Such high fees are rare, however, and most musicians average about 20 Dh a night, with dancers making somewhat less.

Praise singing produces limited results in a cabaret, where most spectators are unknown to the rwais, but performers do have ways of supplementing their fixed salaries at the expense of the audience. Between acts, dancers, and to a certain extent musicians, are expected to mix with the audience. The raisat/sheikhat in particular act as B-girls, encouraging customers to drink, and getting a few watered drinks for themselves.¹ For every drink they consume, the dancers receive a percentage of the take at the bar.

If the customer is a tashlhit-speaker, the raisat may try to learn his name, to feed it to the rwais for later use in tashajit. In any case, a customer singled out for attention from a raisa may also be expected to hang a bit of money on her as she dances. The combination of wine, women, and song sometimes proves overwhelming. An emigrant worker

¹ The first drink with any customer is not watered, in case suspicion should lead him to take a taste. Thus, if a dancer moves around a good deal, she can end up consuming a considerable amount of alcohol.

on the way home from France, a man with a month's pay in his pockets, or someone just out to paint the town red may want to express his appreciation for the performance by indulging in conspicuous consumption. Fifty or 100 Dh notes may find their way into a rais's belt, or tucked under a rais' turban. In one admittedly extreme case, I saw a man in a Casablanca cabaret decorate four rwais and six raisat with a total of 1900 Dh (about \$400). His act was not quite as generous or as foolish as it first appeared: there is an understanding that the musicians will keep only ten per cent of such outlandish tips, and return the rest during a break in performance. With money and alcohol flowing so freely, however, some miscalculations are inevitable. When the man went to recover his money, he came up short by some 200 Dh. In this instance, the rwais were innocent of deliberate deception; either the man had not kept a proper count, or several of the thirty-odd bills had fallen off the rwais and gotten lost in the shuffle. In another case, however, a young rais reported that when a spectator came to collect his change for 300 Dh, the leader of the group patted him on the back, and saying, "I'm glad you enjoyed the show," walked off with the money.

Ultimately, even these windfalls are small recompense for the hazards of cabaret performance. The musicians are seldom in immediate physical danger, though an inebriated spectator can cause some unpleasantness. The schedule, however, can be taxing. While each group puts on only about four sets, a half-hour to forty-five minutes in length, the entire performance lasts from 10:00 in the evening until 4:00 or even 6:00 in the morning. Over time, the hours, the drinking, and the

general atmosphere have a corrosive effect. During the winter months particularly, musicians and dancers run constant risk of illness, or worse.

RLI: Have you heard about Raisa Khadija? She died, poor thing, right in the middle of the cabaret.

RLS: Really? God have mercy on her, poor thing. What happened?

RLI: Well, she was singing, and she grabbed her chest and fell down. They took her in the back room, and then drove her to the hospital, but she was dead. Her heart, they said.

RLS: God have mercy on her. Whisky and cigarettes, that's what ruins all those raisat. Have you seen FT lately? Her voice is gone. A year ago she had the best voice around, but smoking and drinking have spoiled it. And look at her, it's terrible. She'll be the next to go.

4.2 Tourist Restaurants

Working conditions in a tourist restaurant are far less deleterious to a musician's health, if not his art. Like other stops on a guided tour, tourist restaurants offer a taste of Moroccan life which is neither too raw nor too spicy. Architectural design and music are meant to enhance the impression of a meal in a Moroccan home, but all along the line concessions are made to European preferences. The decor is traditional but sterile. Most tourist restaurants are located in converted bourgeois houses; others are in hotel dining rooms or contemporary restaurants decorated with traditional tile, plasterwork, and carpets. Customers sit on banquettes around low, circular tables, but they eat their individual portions with a knife and fork, rather than dipping bread in a communal bowl. The food itself is an imitation of Fes cuisine, washed down with wine and eau minérale. Indeed, the music served up to the tourists may be the most unadulterated item on the bill of fare, but it too has been diluted for the occasion.

More than any other situation, a job in a tourist restaurant demands versatility at the expense of virtuosity. In hopes of maintaining the attention of uninitiated foreigners, some restaurants even try to duplicate the musical diversity of the Marrakech Folklore Festival. At the same time, managers are loath to hire more musicians than absolutely necessary. Thus the Marrakech Casino, for example, offers up to a dozen different acts (including belly dancers, acrobats, rwais, izlan, Caita, gedra from the Sahara, and communal music from the Atlas mountains) all drawn from a pool of three groups of musicians. None of the group line-ups is precisely traditional, but of course the tourists do not know the difference.

The audience's lack of understanding does not preclude a favorable response to the music, nor does it necessarily dampen the rwais' enthusiasm for the job. Some performers, in fact, consider the audience as one of the rewards of working in a tourist restaurant, and delight in recounting anecdotes of colorful touristic behavior. The musicians came to entertain, and were themselves entertained. Furthermore, though the musicians rarely receive the extravagant tips offered at weddings or in night clubs, they sometimes pick up ten German Marks or even fifty French Francs for posing for pictures; they also have the occasional opportunity to sell a musical instrument or article of clothing for a handsome profit.

Pleasant working conditions in tourist restaurants help to compensate for the relatively poor salary, from ten to 25 Dh a night. Moreover, the early performance time (8:00-12:00 in the evening) often per-

mits the musicians to play at a wedding once they have finished their regular job. Indeed, many rwais feel that a tourist restaurant offers ideal working conditons; they complain about the job only when the management falls behind in payment, or when working hours come in direct conflict with a more interesting and lucrative private party.

4.3 Tent Theaters

Tent theaters (sirk, cf. the French cirque) first appeared as side-shows in the Franco-Algerian circuses of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Though they can still be found adjacent to more usual carnival attractions, like octopus rides and wheels of fortune, the theaters are under independent magagement, and often travel alone. They are most frequently set up near large country markets and, particularly, at religious and secular fairs, like the mussem (saint's festival) of Moulay Brahim in the High Atlas, or the Taroudant district craft and agricultural fair.

A sirk is a hybrid, a small concert hall with the mobility of a halqa. The structure itself is a rectangular enclosure made of wood-framed metal panels, with a bare floor and a roof of canvas and plastic. The entire edifice can be struck in a hour and loaded on the roof of a bus for transport to another site. What a sirk lacks in stability and elegance, it makes up for in fanciful decoration. Large murals, inside and out, depict dancing girls, musicians, famous landmarks, and trompe l'oeil courtyards and gardens. The paintings are usually muted and worn from extended travel, but a freshly painted theater is truly stunning.

The theaters hold about 100 people, seated on folding chairs or narrow benches, but they are rarely filled to more than half capacity. A low ticket price (50 centimes to 2 Dh) make a sirk almost as accessible as a halqa. Country markets, and especially fairs, attract many visitors from the city, but most theater customers are countrymen. Unlike the cabarets, however, it is at least possible for a respectable woman (accompanied by children or female friends) to enter without compromising her virtue.

Performance conditions in a sirk are less than ideal. The stage, elevated about three feet off the ground, measures approximately ten feet by twenty. For a group of four rwais and six raisat, that leaves barely enough room to stand in comfort, and dance movements are necessarily restricted. Each act is allotted ten to twenty minutes per show. If a group seems to be going overtime, the master of ceremonies cuts the performance short by running across the front of the stage, dragging the light curtain behind him. Between sets, the band retires to a little cell of a dressing room next to and under the stage, where there is barely enough room for the whole group to sit down, much less to entertain friends and admirers.

All in all, the sirk offers a bargain show to its customers. The performers, however, come out badly in the deal; for as little as 5 Dh a day (and no tips), they must do an average of one set an hour for up to ten or twelve hours on end. Not surprisingly, the rigors of the show are reflected by the performers who display, by turns, indifference, giddiness, and exhaustion.

4.4 Cinema/Concert Halls

Concert performance by the rwais, though rare, is the embodiment of the alienation common to all commercial performances. Understandably, with ticket prices ranging from 5 to 20 Dh, audiences do not flock to hear music that could be observed elsewhere in more exciting or less expensive circumstances. The concert stage creates a literal gulf between performers and audience, a gap which the rwais at least are ill-prepared to bridge.

Concert tours, within Morocco or for emigrant laborers in Europe, are generally built around popular recording stars with a national following. These are, for the most part, Egyptian-influenced popular singers, such as Abdelwahhab Doukkali and Abdelhadi Belkhatat, or western-influenced folk revival groups, such as Nass el Ghiwane and Jil Jilala, whose entire production is geared to a mass audience. Such groups sing almost entirely in dialectical Arabic, the most widely understood language in Morocco; they draw from both foreign sources and from a variety of styles within Morocco, so their appeal is not limited to any single ethnic group. The singers, and the genres they represent, are known primarily through records, radio broadcasts, and television appearances. They make live appearances on occasion at private parties for the wealthy, or in the more exclusive night clubs of Casablanca, but the majority of their fans, young city-dwellers, can see them perform live only in concert.

Audiences expect lengthy concerts of up to four hours, and to satisfy that demand, promoters bring in a long string of warm-up groups,

including comedy teams, sheikhat, rwais, of other regional groups. The rwais may broaden the appeal of the concert in Europe, where emigrant Ishlḥin might be equally attracted by modern styles as well as by their own traditional music, and where the entire audience might welcome any act as a reminder of home. Within Morocco, however, there is little overlap between fans of the rwais and fans of the modern popular groups; even the greatest rwais are essentially unknown outside the tashlhit-speaking communities. Thus, in a mixed concert they are passed off as "folklore," a colorful relic of Morocco's past, a symbol of cultural nationalism with no intrinsic interest of its own. This intellectual concept holds little appeal for most concert-goers, who feel that such acts only delay the awaited appearance of the featured performer. Arab sheikhat can command the attention of the crowd with their racy lyrics, and Middle Atlas groups at least use familiar instruments. The rwais, however, are unique in their language, melodic settings, and instrumentation, and thus have little hope of reaching an audience of non-Ishlḥin.

The rwais have difficulty reaching the audience in a more literal sense as well. Like other popular folk groups, they simply do not produce a large enough volume of sound to fill a hall of 500 to 1000 seats. The amplification systems available to most small groups are barely acceptable in a cabaret or tent theater; in a large hall, the poor amplification renders the music so incomprehensible it might as well be inaudible. Much of the music is inaudible anyway, since accompanists frequently have no microphones for voice or instruments. Dance survives the transition to the concert stage somewhat better, though not without undergoing some changes. The proscenium arch collapses

dance patterns from three dimensions to two, and the subtlety of some dance movements is lost in the shadows of poor lighting, just as the subtlety of melodic variation is buried in the cacophony of poor electrical connections.

The physical setting of a Moroccan concert hall (almost inevitably a movie theater rented for the occasion) does not inhibit audience behavior. Quite the contrary, the audience behave much as if the performance were private. Comments on performance are frequently shouted out over a continuous hum of conversation. The anonymity of the concert hall permits criticism of the performers to be more uninhibited than it might be at a private party; the audience, bored and anxious to get on to the main act, can be merciless to an unknown warm-up group. Yet even in those concerts actually organized as private parties to celebrate national holidays (cf. Waterbury 1972:86-8), where tea and cookies are served to warm the atmosphere and the rwais receive a favorable response, neither the audience nor the musicians can completely overcome the separation imposed by the stage.

4.5 The Alienation of Performance

In any commercial establishment, the rwais are doubly alienated from the audience. They are either isolated up on a stage, or separated from the audience by a symbolic barrier of tables. More important, in any of these situations, Ishlhin make up at best a minority of the audience. In the tourist restaurants, most customers are not even Moroccan. Yet the young, urban audiences at cabarets and concerts are often no less estranged from the music; the rwais most often do not represent

the places from which they have come, and certainly do not point in the direction they would like to go.

The lack of rapport between musicians and audience is exacerbated by the financial arrangements in commercial establishments. Aside from occasional gratuities, money moves from spectator to performer in two discontinuous steps; the customer pays an entrepreneur, and the entrepreneur pays the musician. That in itself breaks an important bond between musician and spectator, and makes the entrepreneur the most important member of the audience. Often, however, the entrepreneur is reluctant to complete the second step. Many performers complained that concert producers and cabaret owners did not pay them for months, if at all. The rwais can expect little redress in such situations. Most cannot afford to go to court, and if they quit or strike, they may lose not only their jobs and back pay, but also the opportunity to work in other commercial establishments. The rwais can express their dissatisfaction only through their performance, which thus often reflects both indifference toward the customers and hostility toward the management.

4.6 Commercial Performance

The exigencies of performance in a commercial situation bring about a restructuring of the rwais' act. The rwais have only a limited time (generally about half an hour) to complete each set, and the audience expects a tightly organized spectacle. Thus, for example, musicians tune up before stepping out in front of the audience; since their presence alone signals the beginning of performance, ti-n-lhalqt is no longer necessary. Slapstick routines are barred from the act; comedy,

when not inappropriate to the situation, is performed by specialized troupes of actors or comedians. The fatha is likewise eliminated; it would be ineffectual in a concert hall or tent theater, and simply ludicrous in a tourist restaurant or cabaret.

Amarg, too, is sharply curtailed in favor of dance. Where other aspects of the rwais' performance seem foreign to non-Ishlhin, the dances of the raisat, so reminiscent of the sheikhhat, strike a familiar note. Even tourists can understand the highly colored costumes and suggestive movements.² Indeed, the raisat dominate performance to the point that the tbil, whose accompanying dance is sedate and masculine, may be eliminated.

These changes are reflected in Table 4. The form of performance is much the same as in private parties, but with a different emphasis. It is still possible, for example, to enchain several different songs (M^1, M^2, \dots, M^n), but since the songs are no longer the featured part of performance, the enchainment has been reduced to a rewrite rule. On the other hand, the enchainment of l-adrub, which accompanies the raisat's dance, has been elevated to the main sequence, since it may take up as much as two-thirds or more of performance time.

In the end, the effects of the commercial situation can be felt more in the quality of performance than in its form. As a result of the alienation in commercial establishments, performance tends to be perfunct-

2 This shift in emphasis appears to be a world-wide phenomenon. In the case of music and dance in the South Pacific, for example, Adrienne Kaeppler (1977:81) has noted that "the fundamental distinction which can be used to separate traditional and folk Polynesian dance from airport art Polynesian dance is the domination of performance (i.e., dance itself) over poetry."

TABLE 4
Performance in Commercial Establishments

$$\#(S + T + TS + D + Q) + S + M + TS + D^1 + ((Q) + ((\emptyset) + (S))) . . D^n + Q\#$$

S Astara

T Tbil

D L-Adrub

Q Qta^C

TS Tamsust

M Amarg

\emptyset Silence

() Optional Element

$$M_n^0 = M^1 + (((TS) + (D)) + ((Q) + (S))) + M^2 . . M^n$$

tory. Dancers often go through the motions of performance with very little spirit, and sometimes even refuse to do solos. While the leader sings, the raisat may pull at each other's clothes and make private jokes, and they are often out of tune in their responses. The musicians, too, may be out of step or out of tune with each other. All of these failings may occur from time to time in other situations as well, but when musicians have more reason to please the audience, they take more care with their performance. In any case, the responsive atmosphere of a private party encourages the musicians to make corrections, while in the halqa the flaws are easily integrated into a comedy routine. In commercial establishments, on the other hand, the flaws are literally spotlighted; worse, the indifference or hostility of the audience gives the musicians little reason to correct their mistakes. In short, the tightest of all live performances in form, commercial performance is the most haphazard in execution.

CHAPTER 5

THE MEDIA

Electronic media play a small but influential role in the musical life of Morocco. Three media--phonograph discs, radio, and cassette tapes--provide at once the rarest and most common performance situation for the rwais. This apparent paradox is, of course, not at all contradictory, since the electronic preservation of sound allows the infinite reproduction of music without the presence of musicians. Indeed, the most prominent characteristic of media performances, beyond the limits imposed by a common technology, is the complete isolation of performer from audience, and of the experience of performance from the experience of listening. The influence of the media, however, is not confined to the recordings alone, because the very existence of recordings has altered the concept, content, and execution of live performance. In broader terms, the media have affected the attitudes of the general public toward the rwais, and the rwais' own ideas about themselves.

The three media are inter-related technologically, sociologically and economically, but they have all had different effects on the lives and music of the rwais. I shall therefore sketch briefly the institutions behind each medium before examining their influence on musicians and audience.

5.1 Records

By all accounts, the first commercial recordings of the rwais were made about 1931 (Chottin 1933:15; Galand-Pernet 1972:171). The honor of precedence usually goes to el-Hajj Belaid (Bl^Cid). With his group, Hajj Belaid accompanied then Sultan Mohamed V to Paris for the 1931 Colonial Exposition, at which time he apparently recorded several songs for the Franco-Lebanese label, Baidaphon. At any rate, one of his earliest recordings, "amuddu s bariz" ("The Trip to Paris," Baidaphon 98809/10; Galand-Pernet 1972:46-50), has that trip as its subject. If Belaid was indeed the first, he was quickly followed by others, including Sasbo, Rzuq, BuBker Aza^Cri, BuBakr Anshad. Both scholars of amarg, like Omar Amarir, and professional musicians themselves regard these early recording artists as the finest rwais of this century, if not all time.

Belaid's "Trip to Paris" indicated a path, literally and figuratively, for other rwais to follow. For the next 25 years, the production and distribution of records were controlled by European (mainly French-based) companies: Pathé, Polyphon, Gramophone (His Master's Voice), Baidaphon, and Philips. The Moroccan (Algerian?) company Boudroiphone may have been founded in the early 1950's, but basically the local record industry did not get its start until after Independence (1956), when business opportunities opened up for Moroccan entrepreneurs.

Since the late 1950's, most, but by no means all of the primary production of records has been done in Casablanca. The development of the 45 rpm format, with a lower cost per unit and greater playing time than the old 78's, undoubtedly helped the growth of the local industry.

The cost of records remains relatively high (5-7 Dh for a single 45 rpm disc of medium-poor quality), however, because mastering and pressing continue to be done in France.

Today there is a profusion of small record companies based in Casablanca, with names like Boussiphone, Casaphone, Atlassiphone, and Ourikaphone. Generally, they are named for the home territories of their owners (e.g., Casablanca, the Atlas mountains, the Ourika valley), or simply for the owners themselves (e.g., Ahmed BusSif, the artist and repertory (A&R) director for one of the first French labels to record in Morocco and the founder of Boussiphone). Most companies seem to specialize in one kind of regional music, though they are open to diversification.

For the past decade or so, the Moroccan record market has been increasingly dominated by SMEDIP--the Société Marocaine d'Edition et Distribution de Phonographes--exclusive importer and distributor of many Middle Eastern and European labels. SMEDIP is controlled by the Amzal family, Ishlhin from Ait Amzal, a small tribe in the region of Agadir, whose members have distinguished themselves by their business acumen. SMEDIP's subsidiary, Koutoubiaphone, is the largest locally owned record company in Morocco. With its organized distribution system and corporate resources, the company has established a virtual monopoly over the top performers of amarg.

Koutoubiaphone offers a fee of 1500 Dh per song to its most popular singers; lesser known rwais settle with smaller companies for 250-500 Dh per record. From that, the leader must cover the cost of sidemen, though

the record company may pick up travel expenses. The fees are not high by western standards, but they do constitute relatively generous pay for a day's work, since a group usually records several songs in a single session. A recording date thus pays better than all but the most lucrative private party.

In discussing their recording careers, however, the rwais often seem less concerned with pay than prestige. The number of records to a rais' credit is an important criterion in determining his status within the society of professional musicians. The prestige also brings financial benefit which endures long after the initial recording fees have been spent, since a well-known rais can expect frequent, high-paying jobs at private parties.

The rwais perceive these and other blessings as flowing directly from a single-source--the producer or A&R director for the company. The producer is the rwais' most powerful and exacting patron. He chooses both the personnel and the material (usually love songs) to be recorded. He may, particularly in the case of the Amzal family, have contacts at the radio station and on the cabaret circuit, to guarantee air time for his protégés. For favored clients, the producer may provide loans or advances against future recordings. In short, the producer has a good deal of control over a musician's personal and professional life. Small wonder, then, that the rwais are careful to cultivate good relations with record company executives. For example, on several occasions I observed rwais on their way to a recording session wearing full performing garb, as a mark of respect for the handful of technicians and executives--and thousands of unseen future listeners. More important, out of gratitude,

ignorance, or fear, the rwais are willing to cede residual rights to the producer or his company. One successful rais also reported that he customarily rewarded technicians with as much as 25 Dh in "coffee money."

A rais' involvement in a record essentially ends when he leaves the studio. He has had the aesthetic satisfaction of performing before the producer, and he has already received most of the money he will get from the record. Later, the existence of the disc will add considerably to his stature, but little to his pocketbook. Sales determine who will be asked to record again, but the rwais earn little from royalties. Indeed, only one of my informants claimed to have received any royalties at all, and these payments seem to have been more in the nature of an informal retainer, to insure his loyalty to the record company. Copyright organizations, such as the Société des Artistes, Ecrivains et Compositeurs Marocains, have only recently begun to attract wide interest among the rwais. One rais, for example, had recorded over fifty songs before he applied for membership. Ironically, his application came just at the time when declining sales forced companies to cease production of new records of amarg.

5.2 The Radio

Radio broadcast facilities were established in Morocco during the early years of the Protectorate, but not until the coming of Independence did the radio begin to speak for Moroccan national interest rather than those of the French administration. With the appearance of transistorized portable radios, the medium extended to villages in the deepest reaches of the High Atlas, while short wave carried Moroccan

broadcasts to emigrant workers in Europe.

The Radiodiffusion-Télévision Marocaine has three principal networks, which operate 18-20 hours a day. In addition, there are numerous local stations that broadcast over the national network, or on local frequencies, for at most a few hours a day. All are government controlled. Of the three networks, one broadcasts entirely in Arabic, one in French, and one in "minority" languages--English, Spanish, and three Berber dialects. The government maintains Berber language broadcasts to placate and propagandize the Berber-speaking population, but government support for the broadcasts (or any manifestation of Berber culture) cannot be too generous lest it provoke opposition charges of sectarian and neo-colonialist policy.

The daily tashlhit broadcast from Rabat runs from 8:00 p.m. till midnight. The local station in Agadir offers a few additional hours of programming, alternating between Arabic and tashlhit. Not only is the Berber broadcast limited in time, compared to French or Arabic, it is also limited in budget and technical assistance. Both stations are received with difficulty, and sometimes disappear from the airwaves for several days in succession. As one mountain man put it: "Berbers have the same rights on the radio as a bicycle on the highway."

In spite of limited facilities, the radio is important to the government, to the Ishlhin in general, and to the rwais in particular. As part of the Ministry of Information, RTM is an educational-political vehicle, broadcasting the government's version of the news, and offering several public service broadcasts, like "Sn tamazirt-n-k, i^Cadl at-tsint" (Know your country, it is good to know about it) which explains Moroccan

history, geography, and economics, or "Isseḡṡitn ddiṇ" (Questions on the Religion, i.e., Islam). One weekly broadcast ("Abaraz n ait umarg," The battleground of the people of amarg) is devoted to news of the rwais and analysis of their songs. Produced by Ahmed Amzal, a relative of the SMEDIP Amzals, "Abaraz" is a mixture of new releases, interviews, critiques, and biographies of various rwais, as well as letters and poems from listeners, and even an occasional contest.¹

Public service programs present the royalist view of the world, and seek to integrate Berbers into the general national culture, while at the same time attempting to purify Berber dialects by eliminating regional expressions and Arabisms. When possible, radio functionaries try to use music to further these institutional goals. The budget provides for honoraria of up to 400-500 Dh, to pay for occasional songs praising the King and his family on such holidays as Independence Day and the Feast of the Throne. In exchange for the commission, RTM reserves the right to dictate themes and even specific words to be used in the song text. The radio archives are so full of songs of praise that little else is played during the week surrounding any national political holiday.

For country Berbers, the radio provides entertainment and education of a sort. At the same time, it is a reminder of home to urban and emigrated Ishlḡin. By offering such services as song dedications (often to or from relatives in Europe) and appeals to missing persons, RTM

¹ Once a well-known record was played for ten seconds at double speed. Listeners who correctly identified the singer and song title were to be awarded a copy of the record.

actively helps to unite the dispersed population of Ishlḥin.

For the rwais, the radio is both a proving ground and a barometer of public opinion. Until the appearance of cassettes, original RTM recordings and interviews with young musicians often created a demand for a rais' music, and thus helped launch a recording career. Then, air play, especially on "Abaraz," could determine the commercial success of the record. Finally, in the long run, repeated exposure and favorable comment on a rais' output can still help establish a musician's general reputation.

Like record producers, radio programmers and announcers have power disproportionate to their numbers. For the most part, RTM personnel exercise this power very conservatively. Young, western-oriented Berber groups have been discussed at length on the tashlhit broadcast, but the programmers in Rabat have refused to sanction the acculturated groups by giving them air time.² At the same time, however, RTM announcers have often been equally unsympathetic to tradition-minded rwais.

The bulk of the radio play list is drawn from a relatively small selection of commercial records; many of these are old 78's. RTM is continually besieged by rwais offering new amarg, but the programmers, bound by both personal taste and bureaucratic restrictions, seem reluctant to capitalize on these opportunities. Indeed, announcers frequently lament the apparent death of amarg, taking as evidence the dearth of new

² Folk revival groups have received much the same treatment from programmers on the Arabic station. Indeed, both Arabic-speaking groups like Nass el Ghiwane and Jil Jilala, and Berber groups like Ousmane and Izenzaren, have gotten most of their airplay on the French network of RTM.

commercial recordings. RTM personnel are well aware that the moratorium on new releases was instituted by the record companies themselves, for economic, not artistic reasons. Yet announcers reserve their criticism for the rwais, without recognizing publicly the real cause of the companies' decision: the undermining of record sale by pirate cassettes.

5.3 Cassettes

In 1970, there were scarcely any cassette tapes or recorders commercially available in Morocco, outside the cosmopolitan markets of Tangier, Rabat, and Casablanca. By 1975, cassette recordings had practically driven discs off the market. Sales of urban music were hurt, though records by folk revival groups and Egyptian-oriented popular stars continued to turn a profit. Cassettes met with such success in rural markets, however, that record sales fell to nothing, and the companies felt obliged to suspend new production of rural popular music.

Cassette machines were apparently first imported to the mountains by emigrant laborers returning from Europe. Introduced to tape recording abroad, the emigrants saw the machines as a way of carrying a bit of home back to their jobs after vacation. Arriving en masse from France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, the emigrants brought tape recorders to capture the music of ahwash, which is not readily available on record. Today, an ahwash seems almost incomplete without a small Stonehenge of recorders in the middle of the dance-ground, to immortalize the performance. Cassette machines, particularly the popular combinaison of recorder and radio, also make ideal gifts, permitting taped correspondance

between parents, often illiterate, and their scattered children.

Remarkably, the rwais make no strong objection to the presence of tape machines at their own performances. The musicians realize that these amateur recordings may cut into record sales, but they do not want to alienate any guests. Besides, by turning the audience's attention to a tape recorder during a round of tashaji^ct, a rais can usually exact a good tip from the owner of the machine. In any event, such recordings are almost always of such poor quality that they pose little threat of commercial exploitation. The real villains are the cassette pirates.

The first pirate recordings in Morocco were made in the early 1970's at one or two Tangier shops, run by Indian merchants, and catering to foreigners and affluent Moroccans on holiday from inland cities. Within three years, stacks of pirate recordings (of all kinds of music), were being sold openly on street corners and in shops. These mass-produced cassettes often include a cover photo copied from the jacket of one of the pirated discs, complete with serial number and company logo.

The market is even better for ad hoc productions, with selections chosen by the customer, and taped in a record store. By 1976, this practice had become so widespread that the largest record shop in Imi n Tanut, which carried an exhaustive catalogue of amarg, refused to sell me any discs, preferring to keep only one copy of each record for duplication on tape. By charging roughly a dirham for each record copied, record dealers are able to clear the same profit as on the actual sale of a disc, without the inconvenience of maintaining an inventory. Even with the cost of a blank cassette (which yields an additional profit to the dealer), a customer realizes substantial savings over the cost of

buying individual records. Obviously the saving is still greater should the customer choose to record a new group of songs over a set no longer in favor.

Record companies have cut their losses by freezing new production of discs, while they investigate ways of enforcing copyright laws or controlling the cassette trade.³ Thus, for the moment, the rwais and others like them are the ones who suffer most from the cassette boom, but they may eventually have much to gain from the new medium. The musicians roundly curse the pirates, even as they buy machines and tapes for their own use and enjoyment. One day, I accompanied HOW to an electronics store

and the clerk proudly brought out a pirate recording of HOW's own songs. The clerk, obviously unaware of HOW's feelings and the illegality of piracy, had displayed the cassette as a measure of his boss' admiration for the rais; for good measure, he started to play the tape over the store's loudspeakers.

Under the circumstances, HOW could only accept the compliment without even a mild reprimand for stolen royalties; an argument would not stop piracy, but it might cost him a fan. To cap the irony, HOW had come to buy a blank cassette himself; licked, he was joining the pirates, in a way, by taping one of the songs he could no longer get published, in order to sell it to a record dealer for redistribution on cassette.

³ As of this writing, at least one record company--Atlassiphone--had begun marketing cassettes with copyright stamps. Koutoubiaphone and other companies have undoubtedly adopted similar measures.

5.4 The Listening Audience

Amarg can be heard crackling over small speakers in simple rooms in the Barbès neighborhood of Paris and the isolated oasis of Tata, in the shantytown hovels and palatial villas of Casablanca. Wherever the Ishlhin find themselves, the disembodied voices of the rwais perform daily before audiences who may not see the musicians in the flesh more than once a year, if that. Indeed, listening to amarg via the electronic media is so commonplace that during broadcast hours, on certain streets in the old quarter of the larger Moroccan cities, the pedestrian can hear an entire song, relayed from shop to shop as he passes.

Given the size and scope of the listening audience, its members cannot be easily characterized in terms of their social or economic status. They must, however, include the rwais' most dedicated partisans. With the choice of at least three stations, tuning in to the tashlhit broadcast involves a conscious choice to listen to the rwais. The radio offers none of the visual spectacle of the halqa or tent theater to attract idle listeners strolling across the dial.⁴ In other words, non-Ishlhin who frequent live performance are filtered out of the radio audience. This is still more true of record and cassette buyers, who

4 As might be expected, television, offering images as well as sound, has a strong competitive advantage over radio. RTM's single channel broadcasts only in French and Arabic (both dialectical and classical). There is no tashlhit program, and even the rare appearances by Berber groups are introduced in Arabic. So great is the fascination of television, however, that people will watch for hours without understanding a word, depending on educated youngsters for a translation, or debating hotly among themselves the possible interpretations of what they are witnessing. Some families solve their conflict of interests by turning off the sound of the television and listening to the radio as they watch.

must pay to hear their choice of music without the additional inducement of alcohol or dancers.

Finally, just as the rwais often put on their finest clothes to record in the studio, so the listening audience often conforms to rules of behavior appropriate to a live performance. Specifically, rural listeners may segregate themselves by age and, above all, sex. A mountain man explained this practice as he switched off the radio after the news:

There is probably no harm in listening to the song they announced, you're right. But you can never tell what the rwais are going to say. And with my sister and her daughter here in the room, it would be shameful for us to hear that sort of thing together.

5.5 Recorded Performance

The stages of production that come between an initial performance in the studio and the final product heard by the listeners inevitably affect the rwais music in a number of ways. The capabilities and limitations of the recording studio itself, for example, directly determine group configuration. Most recording by the rwais are made with only one or two microphones. Mike placement favors the lead singer, and makes the chorus of three or four rwais or raisat sound remote. The possibility of rehearsal and multiple "takes" also benefits the leader by allowing each published song to approach perfection. For the sake of balance and clarity, the instrumental group is kept to a minimum, with no more than one rribab, two or three lotar-s, and a naqus. In addition, the flute (tagwmamt) appears on recordings by one or two artists, and a few other rwais have experimented on record with more exotic instruments, like the Cud and violin. Because of tuning difficulties, especially be-

tween the rribab and flute, such innovations are rarely carried over into live performance.

A recording is the shortest of all performances by the rwais. The early 78's held only three minutes on a side; microgroove 45's carry twice that, but even two-, or more rarely, four-sided songs are shorter than most sets in live performance. The few long play or extended play records that are available do not begin to exploit the possibilities of a larger format. Short performances are equally prevalent on radio and cassettes, since both media take most of their material directly from records. It is a measure of the dominance of the short, divided record format that it appears in media performances even when unnecessary. A group of rwais recording a long song, or two enchainned songs for RTM may stop dead in mid-performance, and then continue with the second half. As three young rwais explained to me during a recording session, "That is the way songs are on the radio." Apparently they did not realize that the breaks stem from time limitations on a disc, not the performance criteria of RTM or the limits of tape supply.

In fact, six minutes is usually ample time to convey those segments of performance that can and need to be included in a recording. A record is not a miniaturized abstraction or compression of live performance. Rather, it is a truncated version, with many of the appendages and trappings of live performance atrophied, or sloughed off altogether.

Table 5 outlines the format of one side of a record, a pattern that may be repeated with variations up to four times in a long narrative song. All elements other than amarg are optional on any given side of a record; when present, the additional segments are reduced to a simple

TABLE 5
The Recorded Song

$$\#(S) + M + (TS) + (D) + (Q)\#_4^0$$

S Astara

M Amarg

TS Tamsust

D L-Adrub

Q Qta^C

() Option to eliminate segment

$\frac{0}{-n}$ Sequence of n different examples of same genre

:

 Division between sides of a record

Sample realizations

1. $\#S + M^1 + Q : S + M^1 + TS + Q\#$
2. $\#M^1 : M^2 + TS + D + Q\#$
3. $\#S + M^1 + TS : M^2 + TS + D + Q\#$

frame for the song text. A recorded astara, for example, seldom exceeds thirty seconds. The prelude is shortened not only to allow more time for amarg, but also because it is no longer necessary to warm up the musicians. By the time the rwais have rehearsed and recorded a usable take, they are more than warmed up. Further, on record the astara, like the qta^C, is superfluous as a boundary marker; recorded performance has its own idiomatic framework in the spoken announcement of singer and company at the beginning of a record, and silence (or scratches) at the end. Thus, as sample realization 2 shows, amarg may stand alone.

The absolute limitations of time on a disc may lead to a break in the music at what would be, in live performance, a capricious moment. This brings to the fore another performance element--tamsust, the accelerating bridge between two songs (M^1 and M^2) or between amarg and l-adrub (M and D). In recorded performance, tamsust often becomes a bridge to nowhere (that is, to silence at the end of the record), and so takes on a bounding function more prominent than its role in live performance.

One might argue, however, that the exigencies of time have had less effect on recorded performance than has the isolation of the musicians from their audience. Recordings of extended instrumental passages, for example, have found little or no place in the catalogues of commercial record companies or on the playlist of RTM. One or two dderb melodies may be used to fill out a side of a record and give a suggestion of complete performance, but tbil recordings are practically non-existent. For the listener, instrumental music, unlike amarg, must always be incomplete in a recording, because the sound media cannot reproduce dance, its complement and *raison d'être*. Without the atmosphere and visual stimulation of live performance, the *Ishlhin* do not care to listen to music without words.

The rwais' slapstick comedy must also be seen to be appreciated. The few comedy records available in tashlhit have been made not by rwais but by comic specialists (baqshish). Even these, like comedy records everywhere, have met with limited success, because good comedy depends on a kind of spontaneity and surprise (even if contrived) which seldom

survives repeated playings of a record. Finally, the effectiveness of tashajjīCt and, particularly, fathā depends even more than comedy or dance on direct interaction between performers and spectators. Both are pointless without immediate inspiration and tangible response from a live audience.⁵

In short, a recording is the most tightly structured of all performances by the rwais, with none of the surprises, detours, and silences that heighten the excitement of live performance. On first hearing, however, recorded performance is not always completely predictable. Based on my own informal observations, Sample Realization 3 represents the most typical pattern for a 45 rpm record, but the body of recorded music encompasses practically all the possible variations suggested by Table 5.

The current model of recorded performance imposed itself on the music only gradually. Early 78's, though shorter than modern recordings, actually bear more of the earmarks of live performance. The records were the result of as few takes as possible, so mistakes are not infrequently heard--coughs, or silence in the middle of a line when the singer or chorus forgets the text. Sides begin and end almost inevitably with astara and qtaC, even when both sides are devoted to one song (Sample Realization 1).

The early 78's also include some performance elements that have long since disappeared from commercial recordings. Some Odeon 78's, dating from 1931, apparently include two sides of tbi and three sides

5 Songs of praise for the King and other political figures constitute an obvious exception to this rule. Such songs might, however, be considered as history (or legend) as much as tashajjīCt.

of l-adrub (Chottin 1933:15). One rais, Mohamed u Draa, made a record for Gramophone with amarg on one side and comedy on the other. Another rais managed to close a recording with a line of tashaji^Ct for the producer who had arranged the session. Even in the early days, such carry-overs from live performance were never common, and as recording and marketing techniques improved, they were weeded out altogether.

5.6 Beyond Performance

Recordings have had relatively little influence on the form of live performance. The rwais do not try to reproduce a recorded song word for word or note for note; even those rwais who perform no songs of their own composition still give a personal interpretation to the borrowed melodies, and manipulate each text to serve the needs of the situation. In short, the rwais weave the song into the format appropriate to the occasion, with improvised lines, l-adrub, and a full dressing of other performance elements.

On the other hand, records have had a marked influence on the concept of performance. Recording jargon gives the rwais the means to describe the complete progression of performance from astara to qta^C, a phenomenon for which no word exists in the musicians' traditional vocabulary. The term disk (cf. the French *disque*) or its loose Berber equivalent tawriqt (from the Arabic warqa, a sheet of paper or anything flat) is not limited to records alone. It can refer to a song text, or even a single part of the text. HOW, for example, once mentioned a disk he had composed in honor of a wealthy hotel keeper; when pressed for clarification, he explained that he had been talking about a few lines of

tashajit attached to a longer song. On another level, after a performance the rwais frequently evaluated each other's work, commenting first on the disk as a whole, then zeroing in on one element or another, the astara, the song text, and so on. Extending the analogy still further, when discussing a performance with two enchainned songs, the first (M^1) was known as the disk proper, and the second (M^2) as 1-fas (from the French deuxième face, that is, the second, or "flip" side). Finally, and significantly, the format for recorded performance corresponds most closely to the rwais' own model of performance in general (see Table 6).

In still broader terms, the media have given the rwais a new history and hierarchy. Traditionally, the rwais have been ranked by their colleagues and their audience on the basis of their musical, poetic, and choreographic ability on the one hand, and on their age, experience, and moral rectitude on the other hand. Initially, the early recordings changed neither the relative ranking of the rwais nor the nature of the hierarchy. The prestige of some musicians was enhanced, but this only reaffirmed, and slightly exaggerated, their existing status. With the passing of years, however, the reputation of the early recording stars has continued to grow.

Professional genealogies, like the social and biological genealogies of mountain tribes, have always been shallow, rarely reaching beyond three or four generations. Hajj Belaid would undoubtedly be remembered today even if he had not been the first to record. Yet, coincidentally or not, the rwais cannot recall any notable musician before Belaid's time, except the semi-legendary Sidi Hammu (Johnston 1907), who may or

may not have been a rais. Perhaps in the normal course of events, even a rais of Belaid's stature would soon fade from memory, fifty years after his peak, and thirty years after his death. The phonograph, however, has given the rwais a recorded history, insuring that Belaid will never be forgotten, at least as long as copies of his discs remain.

Many of the old songs survive in the rwais' current repertory, and excerpts from them continue to crop up in "new" compositions. To judge from the songs of Sidi Hammu, this practice of reworking old poetic and musical ideas goes back well before Hajj Belaid's day.⁶ The existence of recordings has given Belaid and others a permanent claim on certain turns of melodic or poetic phrase, removing them from the public domain. Thus, though the rwais continue to recycle traditional material, no modern rais can hope to approach his predecessors' reputation for originality and inspiration.

The large-scale production of 45's during the 1960's and early 70's added new criteria--wealth and popularity-- to status ranking among the rwais. Even the richest rais is poor by the standards of some Arab and Western popular singers, but a few recording stars have at least been able to invest their advance payments in property, thus enabling them to live at a standard unknown to their predecessors and most of their contemporaries. Others have accumulated capital in legends, by squandering their money with memorable profligacy. Similarly, even the most popular of the rwais has not attained a following comparable to that of his Arab

⁶ In examining the poetry of Sidi Hammu, it is often difficult to distinguish between lines actually composed by the poet and those that have simply been attributed to him. Any line in wide currency (with no overt reference to the 20th century) may be credited to Sidi Hammu, particularly those that fall into his favorite metric scheme.

and Western counterparts, yet some rwais still measure success simply by the number of their songs on record or the number of requests for their music on the radio.

In sum, the media have vulgarized amarg, in both the English and French senses of the word. In the French sense, that is, to popularize, the media have disseminated the music of the rwais to a larger, more dispersed audience than could ever have been possible under traditional circumstances. Radio, in particular, has brought amarg to many listeners who often have neither the occasion to see live performance nor the means to buy commercial recordings. If the rwais have not always enjoyed the fruits of this popularity, some at least are more wealthy than they might otherwise have been.

The media must also assume responsibility for the vulgarization of the rwais in the English sense. First, the marketing of a recording demands that the song be both short and non-topical. Exposure to Arabic and Western popular songs through the media has also given both the rwais and their audience a taste for the explicit treatment of banal themes. The radio has undermined the rwais' entertainment value as the model of professional competence and the only alternative to a regimen of village music, by offering a vast smorgasbord of musical styles at the twist of a dial. Finally, RTM has also usurped the rwais' role of journalist and intermediary between tribes.

The coup de grâce would appear to have been administered by the cassette, which has assured the greatest commercial distribution of the rwais' songs while simultaneously stopping production of new records and depriving the musicians of revenue from past recordings. Yet here

again the medium is an ambiguous oracle. Young rwais have taken to cassettes enthusiastically as a study tool; this may result in a generation of highly competent performers with unusually large repertoires; but, by eliminating the need for traditional, itinerant apprenticeship, it could also cut the rwais off from their roots. Finally, though pirate cassettes have halted production of new records, they have not stopped the demand for new amarg, and therein lies a more hopeful sign for the future. In some cases, the better-known rwais have been able to peddle their new songs to record dealers for redistribution on cassette. More commonly, many rwais have begun making tapes of their own performance, to use as gifts for family, friends, and patrons. Since the tapes are made for a specific audience of acquaintances, performance (often including tashaji^{Ct}) regains the intimacy usually lost in recording. More important, these experiments have helped the rwais break out of the temporal and conceptual limitations of the 45 rpm format. If the record companies resolve their own cassette crisis, and call the rwais back to the studio, they may well find that the musicians want a greater voice in the production and distribution of their music.

5.7 Summary and Conclusions

Considering the four performance situations together (Table 6), it is clear that each one emphasizes a different aspect of the rwais' act. In the halqa, verbal entertainment, mashkhara and fatha, is given the most play. Music and dance seem almost to be transitional interludes between rounds of comedy and pleas for contributions; songs in particular are kept to a minimum. At a private party, the rwais sing freely

TABLE 6

Form in Performance (Recapitulation)

1. The Rwais' Model of Performance

$$\#S + \left\{ \begin{matrix} T \\ M \end{matrix} \right\} + TS + D + Q\#$$

2. The Halqa

$$\#h + S + (Q) + T + TS + D + Q + (S) + M + ((TS) + (D) + (Q)) + (C) + F\#$$

3. Private Performance

$$\#(H) + S + T + TS + D_n^0 + Q\# (F)$$

$$\#S + \frac{M^1 + (((TS) + (D)) + ((Q) + (S)))}{M^2 \dots M^n + D_n^0} + Q\# (C) (F)$$

4. Commercial Establishments

$$\#(S + T + TS + D + Q) + S + M + TS + \frac{D^1 + ((Q) + ((\emptyset) + (S)))}{D^n} + Q\#$$

5. The Recorded Song

$$\#(\underline{S}) + \underline{M} + (TS) + (D) + (Q)\#_4^0$$

H Ti-n-lhalqtS AstaraQ Qta^CT TbilM AmargTS TamsustD L-Adrub

C Comedy

F Fatha

TABLE 6, continued

Boundary of piece

() Optional segment

↵ Option to repeat segment

 $\underline{\quad}_n^0$ Sequence of \underline{n} different examples of same genre

[-] Co-occurring segments

[-] \quad_n^0 Simultaneous occurrence of \underline{n} different realizations of same genre \emptyset Silence $\underline{\quad}$ Featured element in performance situation $\underline{\quad} /$ May be accompanied by following segment

$$M = M_n^0$$

$$M_n^0 = M^1 + (TS) + ((D) + ((Q) + (S))) + M^2 \dots M^n$$

$$D = D_n^0$$

$$D_n^0 = D^1 + ((Q) + ((\emptyset) + (S))) + D^2 \dots D^n$$

$$H = \underline{\quad} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{Tuning} \\ [S]_n^0 \end{bmatrix}$$

$$F = \underline{\quad} / \begin{bmatrix} [S]_n^0 \\ M \\ D \end{bmatrix}$$

and at great length, performing songs which may be long to begin with, and which the musicians extend with improvised verses of praise or commentary. These long songs are balanced by equally long passages of dance music. Comedy and prayer, if used at all, are performed in isolated segments of performance, between clearly defined sets of music. In commercial establishments, dance receives the greatest attention. Song may remain a prominent part of performance, but it is clearly subsidiary to dance. Finally, in the electronic media, amarg dominates the short performance. These key elements of performance have been underlined in each example in Table 6.

The selective emphasis on one aspect of performance or another in each situation can be traced directly to the physical ambiance, the nature of the audience and the rwais' relation to it. In the halqa, the scale of performance, the proximity of performer to audience, and the means of collecting payment all lead to direct interaction between the rwais and individual spectators. Musicians and audience play a kind of cat and mouse game; the rwais try to wring the last centime out of the crowd, while the spectators try to hear as much amarg as they can for the smallest possible contribution. Competition between musicians and audience is further fostered by a kind of benign mutual disrespect.

At a private party there remains a kind of intimacy between the rwais and their audience. The rwais, however, behave in a manner appropriate to the more formal occasion, in hopes that their deference will appeal to the audience's sense of honor and generosity. The audience is assumed to include aficionados of amarg, and that inspires the rwais to put on their best, most complete performance. Song and dance are

apportioned equally at parties, but the balance may shift towards one or the other depending on the context of the party (rural or urban) and the taste of the guests. Knowledge of the audience (expressed in tashajit), combined with tight performance and social deference, are all meant to elicit greater contributions from the spectators.

In commercial establishments, the intimacy is broken; musicians and audience are separated physically, and often culturally. The audience frequents the establishments for a variety of reasons, but the rwais are generally at best a secondary attraction. The rwais therefore emphasize dance, the element of their act most easily accessible to a distant audience. Beyond that, the audience has little effect on the progress of performance. The rwais depend more on a regular salary from the management than on direct contributions from the spectators. The management in turn is primarily concerned with the punctuality and physical presence of performers, especially the raisat. The performance therefore becomes predictable and often perfunctory.

Finally, in the media, the separation of rwais and audience is absolute. For that very reason, the media audience must be assumed to include the rwais' most devoted fans, since they listen to the rwais more from choice than circumstance, with no visual distractions. Amarg is the only element of the rwais' act that comes across intact in a recording. Other elements, which can be appreciated and inspired only by a live audience, must be eliminated.

PART II
THE MUSICAL ELEMENTS OF PERFORMANCE

CHAPTER 6
THE RWAIS' INSTRUMENTARIUM

6.1 Voice

The voice, as a vehicle for poetry, is without doubt the key element of the rwais' ensemble (rbaCt). Indeed, until the formation of the first ensemble, about a century ago, the rwais were more poets than musicians, using instruments primarily to punctuate their declamations of praise, history, religion or social commentary, or to "respond" to the singer and give him a moment of repose. Today, pure instrumental music, accompanying neither song nor dance, still occupies only a small part of a single performance and of the musicians' repertory as a whole. Furthermore, though dance has come to fill an increasingly important role in urban performances--where much of the audience may not understand tashlhit--the rwais still consider themselves primarily as wordsmiths:

Is akka nzznz-an awal, i ya igan l-jib igh ifrah
I ya igan l-jib igh ifrah, igh iri rad as nhush.

We only sell words, to one who puts out his pocket when he is happy.
For one who puts out his pocket when he is happy, if he wants, we will
dance for him.

(Hajj Omar Wahrush, "A hbib nra addik nmun"
Schuyler 1978c: Side 2, Band 2)

Since the singer's goal is to make the text understood, amplitude and clarity of enunciation are the most important criteria in judging a singing voice. Vocal production is moderately tense and nasal, giving the voice a penetrating quality and permitting a rather clipped enunciation of the words. In praising a good singer, the rwais simply remark "illa

dar-s amgerd" or "iṭaf amgerd" ("he has a voice," lit., throat). In other words, one either has a good voice--clear, strong, audible--or none at all.¹ Beyond the basic criteria, voice quality itself seems immaterial, although many rwais prefer a voice with a slight burr or rasp to it. For example, a singer's voice sometimes breaks at the strain of reaching, and quickly falling away from, a high note. Such a break is not held to be a fault, and it may even be a desirable ornament. Though I was never able to elicit any comment of the phenomenon, the rwais clearly did nothing to smooth out these breaks, which were evident in the singing of the most respected and imitated vocalists.

Despite its importance to the ensemble, the voice is not the major determinant of the rwais' overall style. The rwais' vocal style is not unique to the professional musicians, nor yet to the Ishlḥin as a whole. Other instruments of the ensemble, however, do set the rwais apart from all other groups of musicians in Morocco, and perhaps the world.

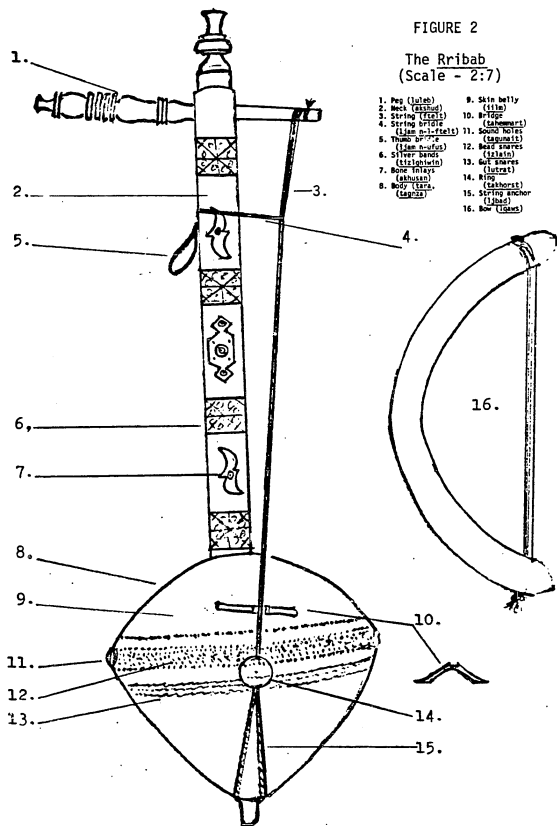
6.2 The Rribab

The quintessential instrument of the rwais' ensemble (rbaCt) is the rribab, a bowed, monochord spike fiddle. The name rribab (rebab) is one of the most widely spread musical terms in the world, being applied to a large variety of instrument types, mostly bowed lutes, from Mauretania to Indonesia. Yet the structure of the Berber rribab is unique, and that structure reveals a great deal about the history and character of the rwais' music (Figure 2).

¹ The verbs in these phrases generally denote the possession of objects external to the body (as opposed to the possession of limbs, internal organs, and so on), as though the voice were a material object, not a physical endowment.

FIGURE 2

The Rribab
(Scale - 2:7)



The neck/spike (akshud, lit.: wood) is a piece of wood, preferably walnut, about 80 cm long overall. Throughout most of its length, the neck is square, about 3-4 cm on a side. The neck is topped with a decorative capital, 4-8 cm high, turned on a lathe. The opposite end has been turned and shaved to a blunt spike, about 27 cm long and 2 cm in diameter, which passes through the resonating case and out the bottom.

The body (tara, tadurt, or tagnza, terms also used to name the frame drum) is a hoop of wood (often olive or vine), roughly 25 cm in diameter. The hoop overlaps at the point where the spike enters the body. The body is covered with two pieces of goat skin (iilm), stitched together at the side and covering both front and back of the instrument. The shape of the body is always curvilinear, though seldom perfectly circular. Most tend to be slightly oval or elliptical. Occasionally, a tara appears in roughly a heart shape, a form difficult to make, but highly prized by the rwais. A piece of split cane (taghanimit, not shown in Figure), tied around the spike inside the body helps the hoop resist the tension of the string. Holes (tagunait) pierced on either side of the hoop permit the belly to oscillate freely, and allow sound to escape from the resonator.

A peg (luleb) passes through the top end of the neck from the musician's right to his left, projecting 13-15 cm on one side, and about 8 cm on the other. The longer, thicker end is turned on a lathe for decoration and a more secure grip. The string, a combed bundle of horse hairs (ftelt, lit.: wick), is attached near the extreme end of the short projection. The other end of the string is attached to a steel ring (takhorst) which is in turn tied with a loop of hemp or nylon cord (ljbad) around the base of the spike. A leather bridle (ljam) pulls the string toward the neck just below the peg; nonetheless, the string at this point

remains several centimeters to the left, not the front, of the neck. A small wooden bridge (tahemmart)² is held in place by the tension of the string; when not in use it is turned on its side to reduce the pressure on the belly. The rribab is played with a short wooden bow (lqaus, a 120-150° arc, 25-30 cm in diameter). The bow, like the rribab itself, is strung with horsehair. In the past, rwais used carved and inlaid bows, or covered them with velvet; today most musicians cover their bows with brightly colored electrician's tape.

Several gut strings (lutrat), and often several strings of beads (izlain) are stretched across the face of the instrument. The beads serve in part as decoration, but their most important function is the modification of the basic sound of the instrument. The unmodified sound of the rribab, produced by horsehair against horsehair, is somewhat thick, with the fundamental obscured by a rich cluster of overtones. The snares and beads across the face make the sound still thicker, and add a gravelly texture.

The neck is sometimes varnished or unfinished, but usually painted in a bright shade of red or green. Three to five strips of decorated metal--silver, tin, or brass--are wrapped about the neck at evenly spaced intervals. The decorative bands (tizlghiwin) may be tooled or repoussé, and are sometimes enhanced by "gems" of cut glass. Small pieces of bone

2 Tahemmart is the diminutive of ahemmar, a prop or post, and, in particular, a tent post with two vertical poles and a horizontal bar in between. Chottin (1933:50) and others have confused this word with hmar, Arabic for donkey. The confusion of hemmar (tent post) with hmar (donkey) is understandable in Arabic. The relevant terminology in tashlhit--ahemmar/tahemmart (bridge, tent post) and aghiwl/taghiwlt (donkey)--proves conclusively that bridge and donkey are related, in this case at least, only phonologically.

(akhusan), cut into various shapes and incised with concentric circles, may be inlaid in the neck between the bands. A rais may spend several times the value of his instrument (20-100 Dh) on decoration. A handsome instrument adds the final panache to a carefully chosen performing wardrobe. Furthermore, by embellishing his instrument with silver, the musician secures his own assets. He may never intend nor ever have to liquidate his investment; but in the event of an emergency, the whole instrument, or more likely, just the silver, may be sold and converted to cash.

The Origins of the Rribab

The history and origins of the rribab are obscure. The rribab shares certain features with other instruments of the same name or type in Africa and the Middle East, yet it differs in certain fundamental respects from all of them. None of the other bowed chordophones in Morocco--the violin, viola, and the Andalusian rebab--offer any clues to the background of the rribab.

The dominant bowed chordophones in Morocco today are the violin (kamanja) and the viola (kaman). Played in various positions and tunings, these instruments occupy a favored position in a number of genres, from Adalusian music to the professional music of Middle Atlas Berbers. There is obviously no historical link between the violin and the rribab. One thing is clear however: The overwhelming success of the violin, which has virtually eliminated all other types of bowed instruments in Morocco, indicates that the rribab must have been indispensable to the rwais--because of its timbral and structural characteristics--long before the violin arrived in North Africa.

The only other indigenous Moroccan fiddle, the rebab andalusi, is the most prestigious and disused instrument of the Andalusian ensemble. Though the Arab and Berber instruments share the same name, there are few other points of comparison between the two. The rebab andalusi (Figure 3.1 and 3.2) is in fact a boat lute; that is, body and neck form one resonating case, the bottom half covered in leather, the top in wood pierced with a rosette. More important, the Andalusian rebab has two strings, both gut, tuned with pegs set in a peg-box at an angle to the neck.

A search for the origins of the rribab thus inevitably leads outside Morocco. Besides the Ishlḥin, one other Berber-speaking group, the nomadic Tuareg of the Central and Southern Sahara, has traditionally used a monochord fiddle, known as the amzad or inzad (Figure 3.4 and 3.5). Moroccan Berber intellectuals have in fact taken to calling the rribab the amzad (c.f. Amarir 1978:88) preferring an indigenous Berber term to an Arabic borrowing. In fact, however, there seems to be little, if any connection between the two instruments. Cultural contact between the Ishlḥin and the Tuareg is practically non-existent, and the two instruments are markedly different in construction. The body of the amzad, like that of many sub-Saharan fiddles, is made of calabash. The neck is arched slightly in the manner of a musical bow, and the string is tuned with a sliding leather loop. Perhaps most important, the direction of bowing is precisely the opposite of that used on the rribab. Finally, the amzad appears to be played primarily, if not exclusively, by women.

The name rribab itself comes from Persian, through Arabic. This suggests a Middle Eastern origin for the instrument. Although nomenclature can be misleading in reconstructing the history of an instrument,

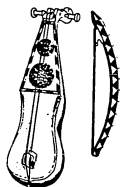
it seems in this case to point in the right direction. Monochord fiddles of various types were once found in abundance throughout the Middle East. Most of them, like the Egyptian rebab esh-sha^Cir (4.3) or the Yugoslav Gusle (4.2), have begun to be replaced by more complex and versatile instruments. None of these instruments is precisely the same as the rribab, but they all have important structural similarities to the rwais' fiddle. One in particular, with a few simple--though significant--modifications, could well have been the father of the rribab.

In all, the rwais' rribab most closely resembles the Beduin rebab (4.3 and 4.4) used in the Arabic-speaking regions of the Near East. The Beduin rebab (or rababa) and the rwais' rribab differ in a number of ways,³ but the two instruments are remarkably similar in both their principles of construction and details of decoration. Both fiddles have frame bodies, covered with skin front and back, an unusual, if not unique, construction for a stringed instrument. They both have decorations, often lathe-turned, on the peg and at the top of the neck. The pegs are also similar in design, being neither simple sliding loops, nor part of a more elaborate peg-box assembly. Finally, the Beduin rebab, like its Berber counterpart, uses horsehair for both bow and string.

The Beduin rebab could easily have arrived in Morocco with the Arab invasions of the 11th century, or at any subsequent time with returning pilgrims or new immigrants. There is, however, no trace of a Beduin rebab in Morocco today; if the type did exist in North Africa, it has

³ The Beduin rebab has a round neck and a rectangular or trapezoidal body (often with the side pieces projecting above and below the body), just the opposite of the rounded body and square neck of the rribab. The spike passing through the body is an added piece of metal rather than an integral part of the neck. Again unlike the rribab, the rebab peg is inserted and twisted from the front, the same side to which the string is tied.

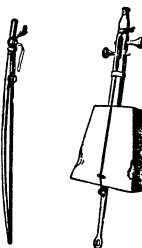
FIGURE 3

Instruments Related to the Rribab

3.1
Andalusian Rebab
(Jenkins 1976:9)



3.2
Andalusian Rebab
(Rouanet 1922:2924)



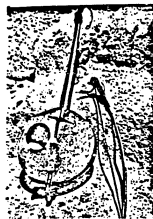
3.3
Rebab Esh-Sha'ir
(Lane 1960:371)



3.4
Inzad (Niger)
(NikItprowetzky:68)



3.5
Amzad (Algeria)
(Rouanet 1922:2926)

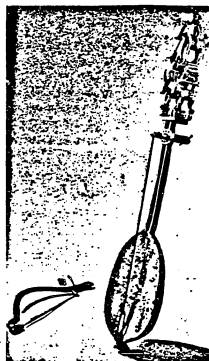


3.6
Gogue (Niger)
(NikItprowetzky:74)

FIGURE 4

Instruments related to the Rribab

4.1
Folk Rebab (Tunisia)
(Buchner 1972:172)



4.2
Gusle (Yugoslavia)
(Buchner 1972:266)



4.3
Rebab (Syria)
(Buchner 1972:165)



4.4
Rebab (Abu Dhabi)
(Jenkins 1976: Plate 4)

been completely replaced by the violin and viola. Nor is there any record of its existence. Arab travelers and historians made no mention of a monochord fiddle, in either its Arab or Berber forms, perhaps because the instrument was beneath their attention. Accounts of European travelers are equally uninformative, at least until the beginning of the 20th century. Such graphic depictions of music as exist from the 19th century (the sketches of Delacroix, for example) are often widely improbable from an organological standpoint;⁴ in any event, nothing even approximating a monochord fiddle has been illustrated.

Despite this lack of historical evidence, the Beduin rebab still seems the most likely predecessor of the rribab. Had the instrument come to Morocco by way of the southern Sahara (as the lotar, see below, seems to have done), the musicians would probably not have made the switch from a hemispheric body to a frame, calabash being easily replaceable by wood or metal bowls. It is still less likely that the rribab could have developed from wooden-bodied, multichord fiddles like the violin or the rebab andalusi.

Unique Qualities of the Rribab

If indeed the Beduin rebab is the origin of the rwais' instrument, the question remains why the instrument type survived among the Ishlḥin, and only the Ishlḥin, when every other group in Morocco has succumbed to the appeal of the violin. A rribab is, of course, cheaper to manufacture and maintain than a violin, but the rwais are not significantly poorer,

4 Delacroix's sketches were, however, generally more accurate than the paintings based on them. In one instance he provided a very accurate depiction of a gnawa ginbri player (Sterling 1933:Plate 141).

if at all, than some of the Middle Atlas Berbers and plains Arabs who are devoted to the violin. Furthermore, considering the amount of money some rwais lavish on the decoration of their instruments, economics must be discounted as a motive for preferring the rribab to the violin.

A rribab is also a more forgiving traveling companion than is the violin. The instrument is light and easy to carry. Its skin-covered frame is certainly sensitive to the vagaries of temperature and humidity encountered in travel, but unlike the violin, the rribab will not crack. While the skin tends to go slack in cold or wet weather, it can easily be brought up to the proper tension by heating the belly over a small fire; even if the frame warps, the change in shape is not a serious deficiency. The elasticity of the leather also allows the skin head to take considerable battering in the course of a voyage. Finally, the horsehair string is particularly durable; a few strands break every time it is tuned, but the whole bundle could never snap unexpectedly. Despite these advantages, however, improved travel conditions in the past fifty years, as well as the remarkable ability of Moroccan craftsmen to salvage and recycle damaged goods, leave little doubt that the rwais could make use of the violin if they chose to.

In the final analysis, the reasons for the rwais' preference must be attributed to the unique timbral and structural characteristics of the rribab. The combination of a horsehair string, skin-covered resonator, and sound modifiers of string and beads, gives the instrument a raspy timbre that is close to the Berber sound ideal; the voices of the rwais themselves are by preference equally taut and gravelly. More important, the overall design of the instrument, in particular the

oblique placement of the string, gives the rwais a measure of mobility in performance that would be impossible with the violin or any other bowed lute.

Most non-Western fiddles are played vertically, preferably in a sitting position. In some instances, the peg(s) of the instrument are used to buttress the fiddle against the performer's body. The rwais, on the other hand, almost never play sitting down, except for practice and self-entertainment. Even when not executing their elaborate, somewhat athletic dance steps, the musicians remain standing, to give themselves greater presence in performance, or simply to move from patron to patron. Other fiddles can be played standing up, but with difficulty. The rribab, on the other hand, was designed to be played that way.

In performance, the spiked base of the instrument is slung in a loop on the rbaibi's (rribab-player's) belt, or supported at the waist by a cord (l-mejdu)--ostensibly a shoulder strap for a decorative dagger--passing from the right shoulder to the left side. The short, blunted spike eliminates any danger or discomfort to the musician that might result from a longer, pointed metal spike. Additional support is provided by the flat frame of the resonator, which lies stably against the rbaibi's stomach.

The oblique placement of the string also makes the instrument comfortable to play while standing. The peg runs parallel to the musician's body, rather than perpendicular to it, as though the neck of the Bedouin rebab, with its dorsal (or ventral) peg had been rotated 90°. This in turn allows the performer to hold the instrument close to his body, without being poked by the peg.

A third area of support is provided by the leather loop for the left thumb (ljam n ufus), attached near the top of the neck. Suspended at both ends from the rbaibi's body, the instrument can be played at a 45° angle to the ground. The musician's hands and arms thus fall into a natural and comfortable position, rather than being held up high, or cramped close to the body. This not only makes it comfortable for the rwais to play for an extended period of time, it also permits the musicians to spread their arms a bit, to give them better balance while dancing.

The oblique string has certain musical advantages as well. Specifically, it enables the rbaibi to stop the string with an open hand, fingers extended. The musician is thus able to span an entire octave, in widely spaced intervals, without changing positions. At the same time, the proper touch on the string produces harmonics nearly a fifth beyond the octave, still without changing position. The rribab is thus the perfect vehicle for the broad leaps and extended ambitus of Berber melodies.

The various adaptations of the rribab have made it the perfect accompaniment to the rwais' music. Indeed, so closely has the instrument become associated with the rwais that it often appears in their poetry, becoming a stock character along with the leopard, the hawk, the hunter, and the religious scholar.

Nusi bdda rribab nsihi, ur ju nCamr tigimi-n-wi

I/we always carry my rribab, I never spend time at home

(Hajj Omar Wahrush, "Rribab", Bouzid 1973:49)

Aya amarg d rribab-ngh k-as ukan n^caish

O amarg and my rribab, for them alone I live.

(Hmad u Mahmud, "Igh agh isghwi b-ziz"
Schuyler 1978b: Side 1, Band 2)

To the extent that an instrument is most perfectly adapted to a single style or music, however, it becomes less flexible and versatile for use in other genres. Such is the case with the rribab. For example, it is inconvenient, and very near impossible, to play anything but pentatonic melodies on the instrument. First, the thick bundle of horsehairs inhibits the articulation of fine and narrow intervals. Both the left-hand thumb loop and the position of the string prevent the thumb from stopping the string (a feature of Beduin rebab playing). More important, the thumb loop prohibits the use of more than one position of the left hand. It is possible to play a diatonic tetrachord in the lower register, but there is no way for the performer to follow that through and play all the notes of a heptatonic octave with any degree of accuracy. In short, the structural peculiarities of the rribab facilitates playing within the rwais traditional style; at the same time, the same selective adaptations have inhibited the style from developing and changing in certain directions. Because of the rribab's prestigious position, no music that is not easily adaptable to it can become a serious or permanent fixture of the rwais repertory. Thus, while various rwais have tried on a number of occasions to introduce Arabic melodies into the repertory, these melodies have always had a limited distribution, and have remained novelties in the corpus of Berber music.

6.3 The lotar

The second essential element of the rba^ct (ensemble) is the lotar. Like the rribab, the lotar is a spike lute, but of a very different sort. The instrument comes in a variety of string configurations and sizes, from 70 to 85 cm in length. Its fretless neck is round and, like the rribab, the top few centimeters have been decorated on a foot lathe. A worn-out enamel soup bowl, 17-22 cm in diameter, and 6-7 cm deep, serves as a resonator. Two pieces of goat skin, stitched together, completely encase the bowl. The back piece is required merely to keep the belly in place, it being impossible to nail or glue the leather to enamel (Figure 5).

Unlike the rribab, the neck of the lotar does not pass completely through the body. Rather, like the lutes of ancient Egypt, the neck tapers to a flat spike, 2-2.5 cm across, ending just slightly short of the base of the body. There is a round hole in the belly at this point, and just above the hole a short slit has been cut, leaving a narrow strip of skin between the two incisions. Passing through the slit, and over the strip, the base of the neck is stabilized and held flush against the skin face. The tip of the spike is visible through the hole. Two or three notches on the end of the spike create three to four "teeth" (tukhsin), a tail-piece on which to anchor the strings.

The earliest documented lotar-s--usually referred to by some variant of the name gunibri--had two or three strings, tuned in fifths. Today the most popular models have four strings.⁵ The three principal strings

⁵ A six-string lotar enjoyed a brief vogue in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The strings were arranged in three double courses, in

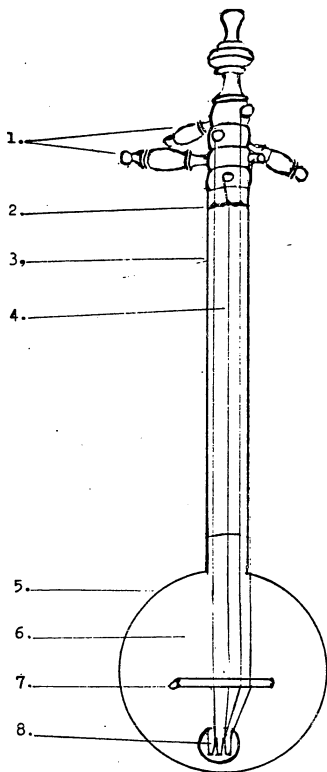


FIGURE 5
The Lotar
(Scale - 2:7)

1. Pegs (luleb,
pl., lwaleb)
2. "Nut" (l'assas,
lqbad)
3. Neck (akshud)
4. Strings (lutrat)
5. Body (tatast,
lghorf)
6. Skin belly
(tilm)
7. Bridge
(tahemart)
8. Tail piece
(tukhsin)

are still tuned in fifths. The fourth, additional string may be tuned a fifth or a fourth below the third string. The lotar was originally strung with gut, but now the rwais prefer to use steel guitar strings (specifically, numbers two through five, or b, g, D, A). The movable bridge is low and wide, to facilitate single string plucking. At the top of the neck there is neither nut nor pegbox. Instead, the "nut" is a length of nylon string, wrapped tightly around the neck over the strings for several turns, then looped around the individual strings to keep each one separate, and finally anchored to the fourth string peg. The turned pegs, each about 13-15 cm long, pass from back to front of the neck, each at a slightly different angle. This creates a fan-like effect, leaving each string with a clear path from peg to tail-piece.

The lotar was once plucked with the fingers, but now the instrument is universally played with a plectrum. A wide variety of materials may be used, including dry esparto grass and shaved horn; the material of choice is plastic.⁶

The tight skin, enamel resonator, and short, taut steel strings produce a clear, bell-like tone that contrasts sharply with the timbre of the rribab. The gut-string instruments of earlier days must have had

apparent imitation of the Cud. The forest of pegs was undeniably impressive. To enhance the effect one rais even decorated his instrument with battery-powered Christmas tree lights. The six-string lotar fell quickly out of favor, however. The double courses dulled the sound of the instrument, and the profusion of pegs made the lute too heavy and unwieldy for the rwais' purposes. Most six-string owners now have simply four strings in single courses.

6 Any item of plastic is fair game in the constant search for a perfect pick. Bottles, sandles, watch straps, and collar stays have all found new lives in the music profession. The tiny belts holding together my looped microphone cables were objects of envy among a number of otairi-s, until I explained that I had tried to use them myself, and they proved too flimsy.

a duller sound with lower amplitude. Early 78 rpm recordings and the performance of the few solo otairi-s (lotar-players) remaining today suggest that the old style of playing involved more strumming. Modern style, on the other hand, tends to concentrate on rapid, single-string work.

Unlike the rribab, the lotar is not particularly well adapted to being played by a standing musician. The body is small, with a rounded back, offering little support area to hold it against the performer's body. No strap or other artificial means is used to support the instrument. Instead, the instrument is held against the body, or cradled in the crook of the elbow, held firm between the right forearm and bicep. The right hand emerges from behind (actually under) the instrument, towards the upper half of the resonating chest. Only the wrist, turned at a 90° angle to the forearm, can move, but the angle gives the hand a great deal of freedom of lateral movement, sufficient at least to cover all the strings. The instrument is often held parallel to the ground, with the belly facing up; some musicians hold it almost at shoulder level. In all, the position may sound awkward, but it is the perfect adaptation for the need to play standing or dancing. Indeed, the rwais have grown so accustomed to the position that they use it whether dancing, standing, sitting, or occasionally even lying down on the job.

While the rribab would be considered incomplete without beads and snares stretched across its belly, only a few musicians make use of a sound modifier (taghaghasht) for the lotar. The device, a small tin disc or oval about the size of a 50¢ piece, is slipped under one foot of the bridge. Wire rings, hung around the perforated edge of the disc, vibrate when the strings are plucked. The taghaghusht is rare today. Even those who favor it do not use it all the time. It seems to have been more

common in the past, however, and it appears in several photographs of different musicians in Chottin's 1933 monograph. The sound modifiers in these pictures are all of the same basic design, but placed in the end of the neck, not under the bridge.

Two decorative features stand out on the lotar. At the back of the body, on the flat base of the enamel bowl, a small round mirror is often displayed through a hole in the skin cover. The mirror, or any shiny, silvery object, is thought to provide protection against the evil eye, by reflecting its effects back on their source (Westermarck I:445). During a fatha (prayer/appeal) or a pause in the performance in the halqa, the rwais often hold their instruments upside down, to shield their eyes from the setting sun; they hold the belly of the lotar before their own faces, and turn the mirror on any envious or ill-wishing members of the audience. The mirror has a more mundane role as well. It is always available to the musicians, even during performance, to check to see if their moustaches are properly trimmed and their turbans are sitting at just the proper angle.

Old examples of the lotar (twenty years old or more) often have silver bands around the neck, much like those of the rribab. The bands are not, however, evenly spaced. Instead, they are clustered near the bottom of the neck, where neck joins body, to avoid any buzzing or unevenness in the stopping of the strings. Such decorations are seldom seen today, except on instruments in the possession of retired musicians, antique stores, and museums. What is currently known as "traditional" decoration for the lotar consists of evenly spaced rings painted in contrasting colors. There is a striking resemblance between the lathed and

painted decorations of the lotar neck and those of the ghichak and other items of woodwork produced in Afghanistan (Figure 8.3). Both design features are the result of the same lathe technology: evenly spaced rings can be lightly incised and then painted with precision using the same foot-lathe used to turn out the neck itself. The "modern" style of decoration is a coat of paint in a solid color, usually green or blue, but sometimes red. Neither the photographs in Chottin's work nor any of the antique instruments I have seen shows any sign of the "traditional" style of decoration, although Rouanet (1922:2924) includes an illustration of a "guenibri" painted in this manner (Figure 8.2).

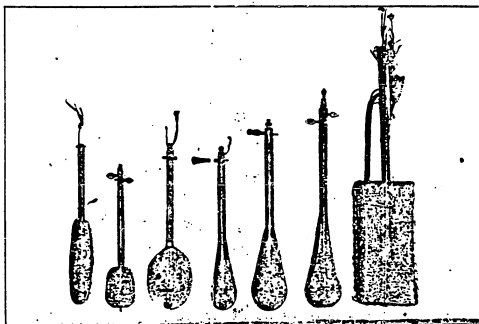
History and Origins

The origins of the lotar can be traced with somewhat more certainty than those of the rribab. Historically, the most significant feature of the lotar is the "incomplete" spike, which does not quite reach the base of the body. The first evidence of this design comes from Pharaonic Egypt, and is attested to by both wall paintings and by actual instruments exhumed from tombs (Figures 6.2 and 6.3).

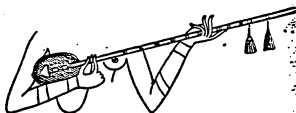
The Egyptian lute, with the handle ending inside the body, has survived in the Northwest of Africa. It first degenerated to a clumsy Negro instrument, used in Morocco and Senegambia and called gunbri in Sudanese. When the Arabs conquered Morocco in the latter part of the seventh century, they reduced the size of the instrument and adapted the name correspondingly; a smaller, pear-shaped or ovoid or hemispherical body replaced the heavy, oblong troughlike body, and the strings were attached to lateral pegs. The Negro instrument has preserved the name gunbri; the Arabian instrument evolved from it is designated by the diminutive form gunibri (Sachs 1940:103).

In support of the contention that the Egyptian lute came to North Africa from the south rather than directly from the east, Rouanet (1922: 2930) notes that the gunbri- (or ginbri-) type instrument is far more

FIGURE 6

Instruments Related to the Lutar

6.1

"Egyptian" lutes from North and West Africa
(Farmer 1926: Plate 1)

6.2

Temple Drawing of Egyptian Lute (New Kingdom)
(Sachs 1940:102)

6.3

Egyptian Lute (New Kingdom)
(Sachs 1940: Plate V)

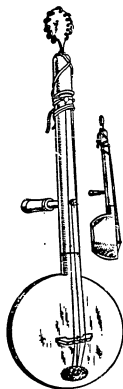
FIGURE 7

Instruments Related to the Lotar

7.1
Gnawa Ginbri
(Schuyler 1978d)



7.2
Tuning rings
(Jenkins 1976:23)



7.3
Old Style Lotar/Ginbri
Note sound modifier
and tuning rings
(Chettin 1933:50)



7.4
Gounbri (Algeria)
(Rouanet 1922:2930)



7.5
Gurumi (Niger)
(Jenkins 1976:31)

common in Morocco than in Algeria or Tunisia, and that, in fact, the Algerians claim the instrument was imported from Morocco, that is, the west. The instrument probably moved south from Egypt to the kingdoms of Kush and Meroe, and then west with the migrations that followed their collapse. An example of the Egyptian lute was described by Ibn Battuta (1939:324) on his visit to the Manding empire in the mid-14th century. Though there is no similar record of the instrument in North Africa before the modern period, the Egyptian lute could have come north at any time on the trade routes that have existed for centuries, perhaps millennia, between Morocco and the Western Sudan, or during the two periods (in the 11th and 16th centuries) of intense political and military contact between the two regions.

While Sachs' synopsis is basically accurate, he oversimplified the situation (as did Rouanet 1922:1930 and Farmer 1926). By no means do all of the lutes in sub-Saharan Africa have the "oblong, troughlike" body; many have hemispherical, calabash bodies (8.1), and a few even come in pear-shaped bodies. Given the diversity of body shapes and materials, in both West and North Africa, we are forced to consider all descendants of the Egyptian lute as members of one large category, or to define each sub-type more precisely; in other words, the "Negro"/"Arab" dichotomy will not stand. In Morocco alone today there are at least three types of Egyptian lute: The Gnawa ginbri, the Arab ginbri, and the rwais' lotar.

The Gnawa ginbri is used primarily by members of the Gnawa religious brotherhood. The instrument is also known as l-hejhuj, sintir (c.f. Persian santur), or, with a touch of irony, the diminutive ginibri.

FIGURE 8

Instruments Related to the Lotar

8.1
Lute with Calabash Body (Niger?)
(Oliver 1970:94)



8.2
Guenibri-s
(Rouanet 1922:2929)



8.3
Ghichak
(Panjshir Valley, Afghanistan)
Note painted rings
and lathed decoration
(Jenkins 1976:41)



8.4
Suisin (small Arab Ginbri)
(Schuyler 1978d)



8.5
Arab Ginbri
(Jenkins 1976:34)

Of all Moroccan instruments, this one comes closest to the lutes of West Africa and the New Kingdom. The oblong body is indeed heavy, at least to carry, though the instrument is remarkably fast, light and subtle when played by a master. The body, once carved out of a single block of wood, is now constructed in a simple shoebox or hemi-cylindrical form. In common with the lutes of West Africa and Ancient Egypt, the Gnawa ginbri is tuned with sliding leather loops or rings (7.2). The middle string, used as a drone, is half the length of the other two. In what seems a purely African touch, a feather of steel rimmed with jingling rings (sersal, c.f. taghaghush) is planted in the end of the neck.

The Arab ginbri (Sach's "gunibri") is by far the most widely used stringed instrument in Morocco. The three-stringed lute, generally somewhat smaller than the Gnawa instrument, comes in two sizes: the larger, about 80 cm long is actually known as ginbri;⁷ the smaller, 60 cm long with a much more diminutive body, is called ginibri, sinitra (diminutive of sintir), or, more commonly, suisin. The pegs are placed in the fan pattern already described for the loṭar. The body is made of a single block of wood, in the form of an elongated pear or teardrop (Figures 8.4 and 8.5).

Finally, there is the rwais' loṭar. Superficial evidence would seem to indicate that the loṭar is the most recent member of the ginbri family. The enamel bowl body, the additional string, and the occasional doubling of courses are obvious innovations to the old ginbri design. There is much to indicate, however, that the loṭar, despite the influence of Arab

⁷ Middle Atlas Berbers, and some plains Arabs, call this instrument loṭar.

technology, actually represents a line of development separate from that of the Arab gimbri.

First, there was apparently an old-style lotar which graphically illustrated a transitional phase between sub-Saharan lutes and the modern lotar. As described by Chottin's informants (1933:22) and reconstructed under the Frenchman's orders by Rais Sasbo, the instrument combines Arab and African technology. Of the three strings, two are tuned with sliding leather rings, while the middle one, half the length of the others, is tuned with a peg passing from back to front of the neck. The instrument also has the now familiar sound modifier (taghaghush) stuck in the top of the neck (Figure 7.3).

Evidence provided by this old-style lotar is not admissible without certain reservations. The instrument contains a few anachronisms, such as the use of an enamel bowl for the body. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that, once, lathe technology was applied to making pegs, sliding rings would have continued in use. Still, on the whole the reconstruction seems at least plausible. Some of my own informants recalled having seen such a lotar, although they were not sure whether it was an original instrument, a reconstruction, or simply the illustration in Chottin's book.

The present positioning of the taghaghush (sound modifier) under the bridge provides further evidence of the lotar's separate line of development directly from African sources. Placement of a sound modifier on the end of the neck would itself prove sub-Saharan influence, but it could well have come indirectly through the Gnawa. Placement under the bridge, however, has no parallel in North Africa. While the idea could

have been an innovation on the part of the rwais, it probably reflects the influence of some other sub-Saharan instrument, such as the kora.

Finally, the material used for lotar bodies deserves some attention. Egyptian-style lutes have been made from a wide variety of materials, including wood, metal, tortoise shell, and calabash. The different materials do not appear to have been completely interchangeable, however. That is, each cultural group has tended to favor a given material and the body shape resulting from it. Thus, as Chottin (1933:50) has suggested, the likely antecedent of the round, enamel bowl body of the lotar is the hemispherical calabash body found in a number of sub-Saharan lutes, rather than the elongated wooden body common to the Gnawa and Arab ginbri-s. Furthermore, both the calabash and the enamel bowl are "found objects" ready for use as resonators, while wood must be strenuously and carefully worked. This, too, argues a separate line of development for the lotar.

In sum, the lotar is the product of several traditions. The basic design, inherited from sub-Saharan Africa, has been modified by the addition of Arabic and Western technology, in the form of lathed pegs and manufactured enamelware respectively. The fusion of these different strains in one instrument is highly appropriate, since, as the following chapters will demonstrate, the rwais' music itself is a fusion of several traditions.

6.4 Idiophones

The Naqus

The core elements of the rbaqt--the rribab and loṭar--are often accompanied by one or more idiophones. The most important of these is the naqus (lit.: bell, in Arabic). The naqus comes in a variety of shapes and sizes. According to Chottin (1933:23, 47; see Figure 9.2) the naqus was originally made from an iron tube or pipe; some of my older informants suggested that the tube may have been brass or copper as well. Today musicians prefer to use an automobile brake drum, 20-30 cm in diameter, but in a pinch any hard object will do, be it an iron bar, tea tray, bottle, or pair of tea glasses. Brake drums can be purchased from automotive wrecking yards;⁸ the price is inversely proportional to the amount of rust that must be removed from the metal.

A brake drum is a ready-made gong, with a flat top curving abruptly into short, straight sides. The round hole in the center gives the instrument two striking surfaces, the comparatively narrow rim of the center hole and the much broader and more resonant surface. This permits the bu naqus (the naqus player) to vary both timbre and dynamics to a limited degree.

The naqus is played sitting down. The instrument rests on a slipper or a folded piece of cloth, with the side facing the musician slightly raised. The raised position gives the naqus a clear tone, while the

8 A French photographer once explained carefully that the preferred material for the naqus was a brake drum from a Renault R4, while the sticks were made from truck valves (make unspecified). In fact, however, an R4 brake is too small for the rwais' taste and, in any case, the musicians never expressed a preference for any specific brand. I suspect that the photographer's informant, or the photographer himself, was only trying to pull someone's leg.

FIGURE 9

The Naqus

9.2

Iron Tube Naqus
(Chottin 1933:47)

9.1

Brake Drum Naqus

cloth helps reduce the amplitude. Some damping of the instrument is necessary to keep it from drowning out the rest of the ensemble. The bu naqus can also control the amplitude somewhat by damping the instrument with his foot.⁹

The beating rods (lmsamr, lit.: nails) are about 15-20 cm in length. They may be made of very heavy nails, as their name implies, light spikes, or long bolts with heads and threads sheared off. One rod is grasped firmly in the right hand, guided by thumb and forefinger, and held in place by the other fingers. The left hand rod is balanced lightly between thumb and forefinger, and allowed to swing slightly between the palm and the curled fingers. The right hand generally strikes sharply on the beat, the left hand off the beat. Because the left hand stick is held lightly, however, it is possible to have a repeating bounce stroke. Thus, with only the simple alternation of right- and left-hand strokes, it is possible to play almost any metrical pattern--not only simple duple, but also compound and even asymmetrical rhythms. This is extremely useful at the break-neck tempo the naqus is often obliged to keep. When the stick is allowed to bounce, the metal resonates with a clear and sustained tone; a downward jab at the instrument, holding the rod in contact with the metal, yields a dryer staccato sound.

The naqus, like the lotar, owes more to Africa than to the Middle East. No comparable instrument exists in eastern Arab music, while bells

9 In some cases, among amateur or semi-professional musicians participating in a wedding or other outdoor procession, the naqus player may put the instrument on top of his/her turbaned or otherwise protected head. The musicians seem to suffer no ill effects, but the naqus is not played continuously in the fashion for a prolonged period of time.

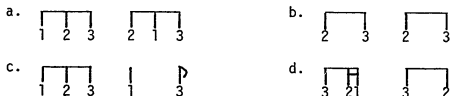
and gongs are a frequent component of West African music. Naqus technique, on the other hand, may well be derived from Arab sources. For example, the naqqara, a double kettle drum, is played in much the same manner when it is used by groups of urban amateur and religious musicians.

The Nuqsat

The nuqsat (diminutive plural of naqus) are finger cymbals, about 4 cm in diameter, identical to the sunuj used in Middle Eastern belly dancing. Appropriately, nuqsat are reserved for those dancers--originally pubescent boy apprentices, but now almost exclusively young women (raisat)--who play no other instrument. As belly dancers well know, finger cymbals are a marvelous accoutrement to dance, allowing the arms to move in graceful, orderly patterns, and adding flash to both the music and the physical movement.

Dancers generally wear three nuqsat, two on the left hand (thumb and middle finger), and one on the right (middle finger). The cymbals can be struck against each other in three combinations: 1. middle finger left hand and middle finger right hand; 2. thumb left hand and middle finger right hand; and, 3. thumb left hand and middle finger left hand. Very often strokes 1 and 2 are linked by a smooth, continuous motion of the right arm. The strokes are put together in a rather limited number of patterns, among them:

Example 1. Nuqsat Patterns



The nuiqsat do not contribute a great deal to the rwais' ensemble. As a time keeper, the finger cymbals are less incisive than the larger naqus, itself not essential to the ensemble. Still, four or more sets of nuiqsat do have a distinct effect on the timbre of the ensemble as a whole. The tinkling sound always indicates the presence of raisat, and conveys a suggestion of light, often romantic, entertainment.

Foot Stamping

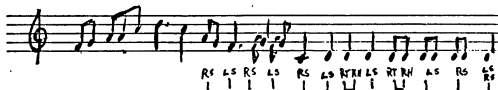
The final instrumental component commonly found in a performance by the rwais is also an idiophone. Strictly speaking, foot stamping, the "instrument" in question, should be discussed as a part of dance, a subject that will not be covered in the present work. Insofar as foot stamping is a sonic as well as visual phenomenon, it deserves some consideration as a musical element of performance.

Rkkza (lit.: stamping the earth, in making adobe-type bricks) occurs in several contexts in the rwais' performance. In formal dances, like the tbil, an isolated stamp of the foot (herd) serves to emphasize a particular step or direction. At other times, foot stamping may serve a purely musical function, when more elaborate patterns (tamerriqt udar, lit.: a foot clapping) are beaten out in place, to underline a brief passage of music or poetry. Finally, tamerriqt udar may have both a visual and a musical component, as in the rkkza "contests" where one or more rwais race at the bu naqus with audible, rhythmic steps, in a virtuosic, and often humorous, display of speed and footwork (Example 2).

The elements of "foot clapping" consist of the alternation of the ball (T), heel (H) and full sole (S) or both feet (R and L). The

different steps can be combined in patterns reminiscent of the clapping patterns and foot stamping patterns used in the village music (ahwash and rma) of the western High Atlas.

Example 2. "Foot Clapping" (tamerriqt uḍar) from a rkkza race
(RHUM 1.14).¹⁰



6.5 Other Instruments

The instruments examined thus far are both necessary and sufficient for a full performing ensemble of rwais. In the great majority of cases, the rbac^t contains no others. Nonetheless, as the occasion warrants, the rwais do from time to time add various other instruments to the group. These instruments, and the reasons for their general exclusion by the rwais, give another perspective on the ensemble.

The Tagwmamt

The tagwmamt (flute, lit.: reed) is used throughout the western High Atlas and coastal areas of the Sus to accompany vigorous men's dances, associated with war or hunting. The flute is basically a village

10 Catalogue numbers (e.g. RV 6.1) refer to my own collection of tapes recorded in Marrakech and the High Atlas in 1975-77. The tapes have been deposited in the Archives of Ethnic Music and Dance, University of Washington, Seattle. Transcriptions of tbi, ri, and gder melodies, as well as some astara-s, can be found in Appendix II. Pieces are arranged according to the sequence in which they were performed.

instrument, although many flute players (Cawwada) are in effect semi-professional, reaping small donations in cash or kind during the festival season. A few Cawwada, like those who accompany migrant troupes of acrobats, make their entire living from music.

The tagwmamt is a straight section of reed, about 25 cm long and 2 cm in diameter, with a plain, beveled end. It is end-blown, like the western Arab qaşba or the eastern nai. There are seven finger holes, six on the top, and one on the back for the thumb.

The skin of the reed is sometimes incised with diagonal or cross-hatched lines, forming geometric patterns. In most cases, however, the decoration of the instrument consists of metal (silver, if possible) rings. These rings are regular finger rings that the flute player himself has picked up at various markets in the course of his travels. Thus, rather than the uniformity and coordination found in rribab decoration, each band of the flute is individual, with a separate history. Some of the rings are fanciful, with coins, stones or small plastic decorations appended. The rings also serve a useful purpose, by helping to prevent cracking from rough treatment or dry weather.

In principle, at least, the tagwmamt would seem to be a natural member of the rbaCt. In some ways, it fills a gap between the rribab and the lotar. Its breathy attack and liquid tones recall the raspy attacks and continuous tones of the rribab, while the flute's clarity and brilliance are reminiscent of the lotar. Furthermore, the rwais, by their own testimony, have borrowed two important forms (astara and l-aḍrub) and even some specific melodies from the repertory of flute players. As it happens, however, only one rais, Moḥamed AbaCamran,

regularly uses a tagwmamt in his ensemble. Rais Mohamed's home tribe, the Ait BaCamran around the coastal town of Sidi Ifni, is reported to have some of the best flute players in the tashlhit-speaking region. Yet even AbaCamran reserves the flute primarily for recording sessions, and even then its inclusion in his group is not automatic.

The general absence of the flute from the rwais' ensembles may be attributed in part to the musical taste of the rwais themselves, and to a difference in social status between the various types of musicians. The tagwmamt is primarily the province of amateur and semi-professional village musicians who command little respect from the rwais and who have difficulty penetrating the society of professionals. AbaCamran's success, however, has stirred up interest in the flute among the rwais. When they finally swallow their pride and invite an Cawwad to rehearse with them, however, they soon discover a very basic, technical obstacle in the way of their cooperation: it is almost impossible to get the rribab and loṭar to play in tune with the tagwmamt.

The fundamental of the flute is pitched very inconveniently for the rribab in particular. The flute is neither high enough for the chordophones to drop to the octave below, nor low enough for the ensemble to tune comfortably up to it--though that is the solution they choose. Furthermore, while the general scale patterns of the flute correspond to those used by the rwais, the intervals are not precisely the same. Finally, though neither the rribab nor the loṭar is exactly a fixed pitch instrument, nonetheless the open strings of the instruments are fixed in relation to each other. Not so the flute, where changes in embouchure and angle can vary each pitch, including the fundamental.

Thus, more often than not, the flute sounds out of tune with the rribab and lotar. The differences are not insurmountable, as AbaCamran has demonstrated. A more general rapprochement between rwais and Cawwada would be possible, if both sides took the time to discover each other's peculiarities and adjust their own playing styles. But the rwais and the Cawwada have separate careers to pursue, and only a very few musicians from each group are willing to make the concerted effort necessary to allow them to play together.

The Tallunt

The tallunt, a round frame drum about 30-40 cm in diameter and 5-10 cm deep, is by far the most widespread instrument among the Ishlhin. With or without snares, in various dimensions, and under various names (e.g., tagnza, tara, tagwalt), the frame drum is used throughout the tashlhit-speaking region as the principal accompanying instrument for ahwash and other kinds of village music. The drum ensemble for an ahwash may include as many as thirty members, with several alternating soloists, and the rest of the ensemble divided into two or three polyrhythmic principles of ahwash, the tallunt itself rarely finds a place in professional ensembles. When used in the rbaCt, its appearance is usually the result of an afterthought or coincidence. If a drum happens to be present at the place of performance (a wedding house, for example) one of the rwais or a member of the audience may pick it up and start playing along. Similarly, when groups of different types play on the same program (at a tourist restaurant, for example), a drummer from another group, playing tallunt or derbuga, the Arabic vase drum, may sit in with

the rwais. In such cases, however, drums, of whatever sort, are used only to back up the band, supporting the rhythm just as the naqus does, without elaborate solos.

Non-Berber Instruments

Contemporary Arabic instruments are occasionally substituted in recordings for their Berber counterparts. Moulay Lahsen Amanar, for example, used a violin, played by the virtuoso BuNsir, on his recording Rwah an-nmun (Kadriphone 3003) and Hajj Omar Wahrush claims to have had an Cud, probably played by BuNsir as well, on one of his records. These innovations, however, are essentially novelties; they have not met with much popular success, and the instruments are never included in live performance.

6.6 Conclusion

In sum, the core of the rwais' ensemble is the union of the rribab and the lotar. Taken as a whole, the two chordophones are unique to the rwais, with special adaptations to facilitate the performance of Berber music and dance. At the same time, their terminology, construction and decoration reflect the influence of both Arab and Black African traditions. The principal supporting instruments rounding out the ensemble are all idiophones of one sort or another. While membranophones and aerophones occasionally appear in the ensemble, these appearances are rare and generally not encouraged. There is thus a clear bifurcation in the tashlhit-speaking region between village and professional music, a dichotomy emphasized by the respective instrumentaria of the two genres.

While membranophones, and to a lesser extent aerophones, dominate in village music, they are virtually excluded from the professional ensemble. Only the naqus is consistently found in both types of ensemble.

This segregation of instruments is not unique to the Ishlḥin. Every society has ideas about appropriate and compatible combinations of instruments within its general instrumentarium. Arab musicians, in both the east and west, find nothing wrong with combining strings and drums in one ensemble; indeed, most popular and art ensembles inevitably use one or more drums. The dichotomy between membranophones and chordophones found in Berber music seems to be an African trait. At least, a similar dichotomy exists in the Sudan-born music of the Gnawa, where drums (large side drums known as tbel or ganga) and a lute (the ginbri) are used in separate ceremonies or different sections of the same ceremony; while musicians may be capable of performing on both sets of instruments, chordophones and membranophones are never mixed. However, garageb (double metal castanets) may be used to accompany either ginbri or ganga, just as the naqus may appear with the rwais or ahwash.

In one final respect, the rwais' rbaḥt seems to be unique. I have discovered no other ensemble in which a monochord, horsehair-strung fiddle is combined with other types of instruments. The union, which apparently took place only within the last century, has not been easy to effect. Each instrument has had to make certain concessions in tuning, fingering, and so on, changes that would not have been necessary were the instrument to be played alone. Much of the explicit theory of the rwais' music deals with the relationship between rribab and lotar. This theory, and the relationship that gave rise to it, is the subject of Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 7

RHYTHM AND FORM

Part I of this dissertation demonstrated that a piece of music performed by the rwais consists of a series of sections in different genres (astara, amarg, etc.), loosely linked in a roughly pre-determined order. A complete performance includes at least a brief excursion into every genre. However, each section or genre is, to a great extent, independent of the others, and the length and order of the sections is determined by the inclination of the musicians and the taste of the audience. Chapter 9 will show that a similar principle of organization is at work within each section as well. That is, in each genre, the choice and order of melodies is left largely to the discretion of the musicians--primarily the group leader--who therefore recreate, rather than repeat, a piece each time they perform it. Before examining the question of creativity in the rwais' music, however, it is necessary to outline the rhythmic and melodic resources on which the musicians draw in building a performance.

The rwais' choice of musical material is almost as eclectic as their choice of instruments. Their repertory includes ideas or whole pieces borrowed from Arabic, European, and Black African music. Yet while the professional instrumentarium seems to exclude elements taken from village music, the overwhelming majority of their melodies are comparable, and often identical, to melodies used in the various genres of music in the High Atlas and Sus. Thus, this chapter, and the two that follow, will concentrate on the "traditional" elements of the rwais' repertory, with frequent references to ahwash and other varieties of village music. The

"foreign" elements in the repertory will be discussed in the chapter on acculturation (Chapter 10).

The analysis that follows is based on a study of 95 pieces of instrumental and vocal music. A sample of 210 measured melodies drawn from these performances provides the material for the statistical tables in this and succeeding chapters.¹ We will be concerned primarily with three melodic types: tbil (the instrumental overture accompanying an opening dance), riḥ (the melodic setting for amarg, sung poetry), and l-adrub (the rapid instrumental melodies accompanying the dance finale). Examples of tamsust, the accelerating bridge between tbil or amarg and l-adrub, will be classed with riḥ or tbil melodies, as the case may be. L-Qta^C, the short formula that (theoretically) marks the end of a piece, will be considered as a qḍerb melody. Although examples of astara (free-rhythm setting for amarg) have not been included in the sample, many of the observations drawn from the analysis of measured melodies will apply to the free-rhythm melodies as well.

7.1 Meter and Genre

The metrical resources of the rwais include duple, triple, compound duple, asymmetrical, and free rhythms. In most instances, however, the rwais show a marked preference for duple and, above all, compound duple meter. The other possibilities are exploited either infrequently, or for short periods of time within performance.

1 The sample contains 40 tbil melodies, 77 riḥ-s (melodic settings for amarg) and 93 qḍerb melodies. An explanation of the coding procedure will be found in Appendix II. Transcriptions of all 210 melodies, and others not included in the sample, will be found in Appendix III.

In discussing the specific rhythmic patterns of a melody, the rwais may refer to various models--patterns used in different types of ahwash, for example, or patterns found in songs by other rwais. These references are, for the most part, ad hoc; a musician may have to cast about for several examples before finding one that rings a bell with his interlocutor. The rwais, like village musicians, also make use of a system of nonsense syllables, talailalit, to outline the rhythm of a vocal melody (Amarir 1978:92). In both ahwash and amarg, the first enunciation of a melodic line may be set to various syllables--la-la-lai, da-la-li, na-na-ni, and so on--to permit the chorus to pay attention to melody and rhythm, without worrying about the text (Example 3). Though the distribution of syllables follows certain rules,² talailalit, like the comparison of melodies, is an ad hoc method of description, and is not used for abstract analysis or classification of rhythms. In fact, as far as I was able to discover, the rwais have no specific terminology to distinguish the basic rhythms from one another. Even naqus patterns are unnamed, except for ti-n-lhalqt, the rapid, undifferentiated pulse beat used to announce the opening of a halqa (open-air performance) and to provide a rhythmic drone for astara.³ Such general distinctions between rhythms are necessary since there is a strong correlation between meter and genre, and most sections of performance are, by definition, set to one particular meter.

2 La is used primarily for short or medium note values; wa or da for pick-up beats; lai for longer note values in the middle of the line; and li for the final note of a phrase. The value of a syllable is determined by its vowel or diphthong, while the choice of consonant--l, n, or d--is essentially a matter of personal choice or regional "accent."

3 Even this designation is suspect: I never heard the expression used in conversation, and it may have been offered by the informant out of a desire to give me something positive to put in my notebook.

Example 3. Vocal melody showing the use of talailalit in the first phrase to outline metric pattern (RV 6.1).



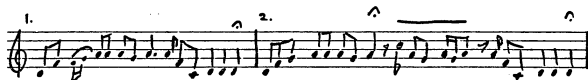
Free Rhythm. Free rhythm passages appear frequently, but usually for short duration, in the rwais' performance. Short passages of unmeasured instrumental music (astara) precede almost every piece in performance, and may also mark a boundary between two enchaind songs. A series of overlapping astara-s, by all the members of a group, may run four or five minutes, as musicians tune up their instruments and warm up their hands at the very beginning of a performance. As a formal section of a piece, however, an astara seldom lasts for more than thirty seconds or a minute.

Vocal passages in free rhythm (amjerd) may last as long as five or ten minutes. As in other renditions of amarg, a single melody is repeated for every line of text. The melody may center around a reciting tone, or follow the wider-ranging contour of a measured melody. In any event, a measured melody usually introduces the song, and reappears periodically throughout the performance to add variety to the soloist's free rhythm declamation. Though free-rhythm vocal passages are long, they are few in number. I was able to collect only six examples of the style. Judging from old recordings and the testimony of mature musicians,

amjerd seems to have been more popular in the days when the rwais emphasized narrative poetry rather than love songs and dance.

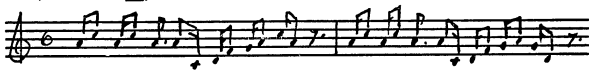
Free rhythm passages depart from the measured norm in three ways. First, the performer of astara or amjerd has the option to extend certain notes of the melody--usually cadence notes and agogic accents--indefinitely. Secondly, the pauses between phrases are likewise held ad libitum. Finally, as Example 4 demonstrates, the repetition of a given phrase in free rhythm may be augmented or diminished by a few notes, or an entire phrase. As a result of all this, the relationship between phrases in a free-rhythm passage is one of imbalance and asymmetry.

Example 4. The augmenting of a phrase in astara (RM 1.1).

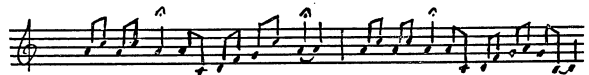


Internally, however, free-rhythm phrases may have a stronger metric feeling. Much of a given phrase passes in even note values, often with a strong duple feeling. It is the extended notes and pauses that distract the listener from the regularity of this phrasing. Indeed, in a number of cases of amjerd, the note values are very similar, if not identical, to those used in the measured version (rih) of the same melody (Examples 5 and 6; compare also Schuyler 1978b, Side 2, Band 3).

Example 5a. A rih (RLTZ 1.2).



b. Free rhythm version (amjerd) of the same melody.



Duple. Roughly a third of the melodies in the sample (see Table 7) are set to simple duple rhythms. These melodies are generally rather slow ($\text{♩} \approx 120\text{-}160 \text{ m.m.}$) in comparison to other melodies in the rwais' repertory. They are quite straightforward, almost rigid, metrically. The restraint of the rwais' simple duple melodies is in part the result of the inherent limitations of the meter itself, and in part of the use to which the rwais put it.

TABLE 7

Meter and Genre

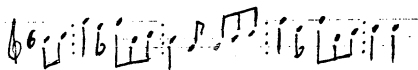
	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	<u>Total</u>
Duple	36	18	15	69
Compound Duple	4 ⁴	35 ⁵	70	109
Triple		21 ⁵	8	29
Asymmetrical		3		3
Total	40	77	93	210

4 All four tbil melodies in compound duple are in fact tamsust-s.

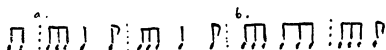
5 Includes three tamsust-s.

Nearly half of the vocal melodies in the sample are in compound duple. The real domain of the meter, however, is in 1-adrub. Three-quarters of the ḍḍerb melodies are in compound duple, while the remaining ḍḍerb melodies, in duple and triple, are usually supported by a compound duple naqus pattern⁶ (Example 7).

Example 7a. Ḍḍerb melody in compound duple (RM 1.1).



b. Compound duple naqus patterns.

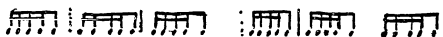


Triple. The rwais make rather infrequent use of simple triple rhythms, although a shift in accent in compound duple can produce the triple feeling. Nonetheless, occasionally the setting of a melody stands out for its emphasis on triple patterns (Example 8). A ternary naqus pattern (Example 8b) often appears toward the end of a piece, though it may be, and usually is, played under a melody in compound duple, just as the pattern in Example 7b can be played under duple or triple melodies.

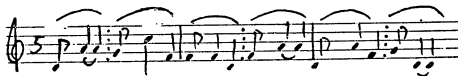
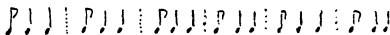
Example 8a. Rih in simple triple (HOW 2.8).



⁶ cf. Example 11 in which a triple rih is supported by a compound duple accompaniment.

b. Ternary naqus pattern.

Asymmetrical. Asymmetrical rhythms are quite rare among the rwais, and the Ishlḥin in general. In village music, asymmetrical rhythms are generally restricted to various solo and small group forms (AbuDrar 1978:104; Lortat-Jacob 1973:III, 72). Among the rwais, asymmetrical rhythm--5/8 in all cases--is likewise restricted to vocal music. Only three melodies in the sample are in 5/8 (Example 9).

Example 9a. Rih in 5/8 (HOW 1.1).b. Asymmetrical naqus pattern.

7.2 The Realization of Meters

The realization of meters in the rwais' melodies is by no means always straightforward, nor is their analysis a simple, clear-cut task. The rwais, in common with village musicians, thrive on metrical ambiguity. Binary and ternary patterns are contrasted simultaneously and sequentially on all levels of rhythmic organization. The naqus and nuiqsat, which are played primarily in fixed, repetitive patterns, should help clarify the actual meter of a given melody. In fact,

however, the idiophones frequently contribute to metric ambiguity, by playing a compound duple pattern under a triple melody, or vice versa.

Metric tension between ensemble elements is a central feature of village music. In ahwash, melody and rhythm are polarized between the voices, on the one hand, and a host of rhythmic percussion instruments on the other: tilluna (pl. of tallunt, the frame drum), bengri (the Gnawi Ganga, or side drum), tigargawim (Gnawa qaraqeb, or double castanets), naqus, hand clapping, and foot stamping. This is not to say that the singing is not rhythmic, nor that the accompaniment is necessarily lacking in melodic qualities; however, each component clearly emphasizes one aspect over the other.

Though all possible rhythmic instruments seldom operate simultaneously in a single performance of ahwash, the rhythmic texture of village music is always very dense. Bernard Lortat-Jacob (1973:III, 32) has identified four levels of rhythmic organization in the drum ensembles (agnza) of the Ayt Mgun tribe in the Central High Atlas. The frame drum players are divided into three groupes: thrrim, playing on heavily accented beats; assif, "the sifter," which plays a slightly fuller pattern; and tkhlif, "the one that differs," a solo lead drum playing improvised patterns. The fourth part is filled by the bengri (side drum). The following example shows how these parts, each accenting a slightly different pattern of beats, fit together. The example includes two of the many possible tkhlif variations.

Example 10. The polyrhythmic organization of a village drum ensemble (Iortat-Jacob 1973:III, 35).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>Tkhllif</u> a	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<u>Tkhllif</u> b	X			X			X			X		
<u>Assif</u>	X			X	X		X			X	X	
<u>Thrrim</u>	X						X					
<u>Bengri</u>	X		X				X		X			

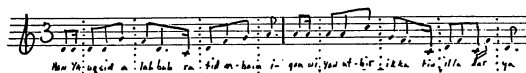
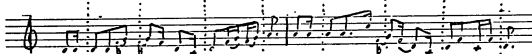
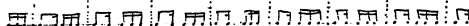
The rwais' ensemble is somewhat more limited in its polyrhythmic possibilities. The naqus, of course, may create a certain amount of metrical tension, as does the contrast between the idiomatic realizations of a melody on rribab and lotar (Example 11). The rribab and lotar may also shift accents slightly to create rhythmic interest. The rhythmic freedom of the rribab and lotar is, however, generally rather restricted, since, as melodic instruments, they are bound to the phrasing of the melody. Furthermore, since the main components of the rba^Ct have very different timbres, the contrast of sonorities, rather than the contrast of rhythmic execution, strikes the listener first.

What the rwais lack in polyrhythmic density, they more than make up in the linear organization of time. To create rhythmic interest, binary and ternary motifs are combined sequentially in a great variety of ways. Even straightforward duple rhythms may be organized additively rather than divisively. A shift in the order of twos and threes is one way of contrasting different phrases in a melody. The following example (12)

Example 11. Rhythmic stratification in the rwais' ensemble

(RV 2.3.2; Schuyler 1978b, Side 1, Band 3).

a. Voice

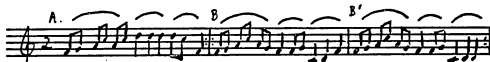
b. rribabc. lotard. naqus

can be divided into three melodic phrases (A, B, B'),⁷ each eight beats (two rhythm cycles) in length. The first phrase is accented as 3 + 3 + 2, while the second and third phrases are accented as 3 + 2 + 3.

The contrast of two- and three-beat motifs is, of course, an inherent feature of symmetrical rhythms, but it is in the compound duple

⁷ Since each phrase is played twice by the time the melody is complete, this example will later be classed as a six-phrase melody in terms of its rhythmic organization.

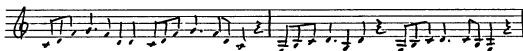
Example 12. Alternation of twos and threes in a duple tbil melody (RMZ 1.2.2).



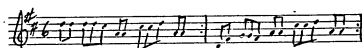
melodies that the rwais exploit most fully the tension between binary and ternary patterns. Binary and ternary motifs frequently alternate within the phrases of a melody (Example 13).

Example 13. Alternation of binary and ternary motifs in two dderb melodies.

a. RMZ 2.4



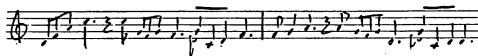
b. RV 4.2.7



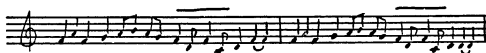
Often a ternary motif may be embedded in the middle of a melody that is basically compound duple (Example 14). The opposite phenomenon occurs with somewhat less frequency (Example 15).

The contrast of duple and triple organization can be carried out on a broader level as well. That is, while each phrase of a melody usually uses the same basic metric pattern, metric organization may sometimes

Example 14. Ternary motif embedded in compound duple ḍḍerb (RM 1.2).



Example 15. Compound duple motif embedded in ternary rih (RV 3.7).



change abruptly from phrase to phrase. In Example 16, the first phrase has a clear triple emphasis, while the second and third phrases are obviously compound duple. In Example 17, on the other hand, all three phrases are clearly in compound duple, but the phrasing and grouping of motifs differs markedly from one phrase to the next.

Example 16. Dderb with contrasting duple and triple phrases (RMZ 2.5).



Finally, by changing note values and accents slightly, the rwais can transform successive repetitions of a melody from simple to compound duple. This transformation, along with acceleration, is the essence of tamsust, the bridge leading from amarg into l-adrub (Example 18), but the same transformation may also occur briefly during l-adrub (Example 19).

Example 17. Compound duple ḡḡerb with contrasting, asymmetrical phrasing (RV 4.2.13).



Example 18a. A duple ṭḅil melody (HOW 4.1.13).



b. Tamsust of 18a (HOW 4.1.14).



Example 19a. A compound duple ḡḡerb melody (RV 6.1).



b. Example 19a accented as duple melody.



7.3 The Rhythmic Structure of Melodies

The rwais' melodies are composed, for the most part, of one to six short phrases, each phrase one to five rhythm cycles in length. These component phrases are almost always equal in length, and in most cases they manifest a high degree of metric symmetry. That is, the realization of meter in the various phrases is usually either identical (Example 5, p. 147), or nearly so (Example 3, p. 145). Melodies with metrically contrasting phrases (Examples 16-17) often turn out to have a composite structure, with, for example, an independent phrase fused to a standard, symmetrical melody.

While the realization of meters exploits the tension and ambiguity between binary and ternary patterns, the overall metric and rhythmic framework of melodies is much more straightforward. Internally, the great majority of phrases can be divided into two or four rhythm cycles. Vocal melodies (rih) tend to have somewhat longer phrases than do instrumental melodies (tbi and l-adrub), but the binary division of phrases is equally dominant in all categories (Table 8). It is interesting to note, however, that of the seven melodies with three rhythm cycles per phrase, six are in duple time. Thus, the contrast between duple and triple patterns is not entirely lacking in the structure of phrases.

Binary patterns are still more evident in the combination of phrases that make up a melody. Two-thirds of the melodies in the sample are divisible into two equal phrases (Table 9). The next largest group, comprising only about 17% of the sample, consists of four-phrase melodies.

Many of these four-part melodies could be viewed as having basically two phrases, with each phrase subdivided in two equal parts (e.g. Example 20b). Taking the two- and four-phrase melodies together, we see that binary organization of phrases prevails in more than 80% of the sample.

TABLE 8
The Number of Rhythm Cycles in a Phrase

	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	6	3	8	17
2	31	25	54	110
3	2	7	3	12
4	1	33	24	58
5		4		4
Other/ Mixed		5	4	9
	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 77	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 210

TABLE 9
The Number of Phrases in a Melody

	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	<u>Total</u>
1		3	6	9
2	23	51	67	141
3		15	4	19
4	13	7	13	33
5	2	1	1	4
6	2		2	4
	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 77	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 210

The structure of a melody is most clearly seen in amarg, where the rih is repeated for each line of poetry. The soloist and chorus often sing their lines in strict alternation, particularly in the opening of a song, when the refrain is repeated several times by both leader and chorus. Often in the body of a song, and almost inevitably in the tamsust, the soloist and chorus divide the melody between them, thus highlighting its division into phrases. This pattern corresponds to the antiphonal organization of ahwash.

The division of labor in singing is by no means always equal, however. The chorus may be given only a short fragment to sing at the beginning of each line. More frequently, the leader sings several lines in succession, cueing the chorus to join in when he feels in need of rest, inspiration, or a change of subject.⁸ These groups of lines do not in any way indicate strophic organization. First the number of lines in a series may vary according to the needs and inclination of the soloist. More important, the cluster of lines does not constitute a unit, either textually or musically. The basic unit of organization remains the single line. This principle of organization is again brought out clearly both at the beginning of a song, and at the end, in tamsust, with the alternation and/or division of the melody between soloist and chorus.

The binary division of melodies may have come about originally as a result of the dominance of antiphonal vocal music among the Ishlhin, but the phenomenon is very apparent in instrumental music as well. Tbil melodies, for example, frequently emphasize the bi- or quadri-partite

⁸ A similar grouping of lines, with occasional choral response, can be found in certain forms of village music that sometimes precede ahwash, such as tibismit in the Tahanaout region, or lmsaq in Ayt Mgun (Lortat-Jacob 1973:III, 11-14).

structure of a melody with a response pattern between the lead instrument (usually a rribab) and the rest of the ensemble (Example 20). Indeed, the binary division of melodies is more prevalent in both t̤bil and l-adrub than it is in vocal melodies. This is particularly surprising in the case of l-adrub, since the rapid dance melodies use neither vocal nor instrumental response patterns.

Example 20a. Bi-partite division of t̤bil melody, with rribab-ensemble response (RV 7.1.3; Schuyler 1978b: Side 1, Band 1).



b. Quadri-partite division of t̤bil melody, with rribab-ensemble response (HOW 8.1.15).

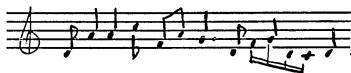


Three-phrase melodies make up about a fifth of the vocal repertory (e.g., Examples 8 and 9), but find essentially no place in instrumental music. These melodies are almost inevitably divided between soloist and chorus, with the chorus taking one phrase (usually the first, but occasionally the third), and the leader taking the other two. A similar division of melodies may also be found in village music, as, for example, in a recorded ahwash from Ayt Mgun (Lortat-Jactob 1975: Side A, Band 1),

where the female chorus sings for four cycles of a six cycle melody, the male chorus taking the final two cycles.

In general, even the shortest melody, or melodic fragment, can be divided into two or more phrases. Nonetheless, the rwais' repertory includes a few melodies so short or so highly integrated that they must be viewed as possessing only a single phrase. These are exceptional, and numerically insignificant, in the vocal repertory; the sample includes only two single-phrase riḥ-s, plus a tamsust version of one of them (Example 21). Other parts of the repertory include no great variety of single-phrase melodies either. Just six such melodies, all l-adrub, appear in the sample. However, most of these are found in at least two of the performances from which the sample was drawn, and some single-phrase melodies appear in almost every extended section of l-adrub in live performance (Example 22a). These short phrases may be used immediately after a tamsust, as an additional boundary marker between sections, or elsewhere between two longer ḍḍerb melodies. Multiple repetitions of a short phrase help pass the time while the leader thinks of a new melody or variation. They also tease the audience by creating melodic and rhythmic tension, until the phrase is resolved in a complete, balanced melody (Example 22).

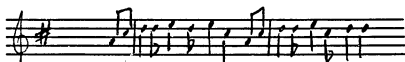
Example 21. A single-phrase riḥ (RMZ 2.5).



Example 22a. A single-phrase ḍderb (RLUD 1.2.2).



b. Example 22a resolved in a balanced melody (RLUD 1.2.3).



The tension created by single-phrased l-adrub, as well as their tendency to resolve in a multi-phrased melody, might suggest that they should be treated simply as part of the longer melody. The single phrase may, however, be repeated half a dozen times or more before the musicians move on to something else. Furthermore, the tension may be released by a balanced melody having nothing to do with the single phrase. The evidence therefore suggests that these short melodies, however fragmentary, must be treated as individual elements in the series of l-adrub. In any event, whether or not they are considered as part of a longer melody, single-phrase l-adrub only reaffirm the general tendency toward balanced melodic structure.

The component phrases of a melody can show their independence in other contexts as well. In a few examples of amarg, for instance, the complete melody is heard only during the group refrain and the opening of each solo section. Thereafter, the lead singer contents himself with singing only the last phrase or two of the melody, several times over, before returning to the refrain. Example 23 is a three-phrase melody in which the first and second phrases are identical (i.e., AAB). The entire

melody is used as an introduction and refrain, but most of the text is carried by the final phrase (B). A similar pattern is found in Example 24, a four-phrase melody in which only the last two phrases (CD) are used for the bulk of the text.

Example 23. A three-phrase riḥ, with independent third phrase (HOW 2.7).



Example 24. A four-phrase riḥ, with two independent phrases (RB 2.1).



Just as melodies may be broken up into their component parts, with one or more of the phrases being used independently, so whole melodies may be fused together to make a longer unit. In fact, the few melodies with more than four phrases all seem to be composite structures. Example 12 (p. 154), for instance, contains three separate phrases, each eight beats (two rhythm cycles) in length, which I shall call A, B, and B'. These are combined in performance as AA BB' BB', for a total of six phrases. The paired phrases B and B' could easily stand alone as a complete tḥil melody. Furthermore, though the A phrase probably could not stand alone (for reasons to be discussed in the next chapter), the

internal repetition gives it a measure of independence. A similar pattern can be seen in Example 25, a five-phrase melody, with the phrases arranged in the pattern AA BB' C.

Example 25. A five-phrase tbil melody (RV 4.2.5).



7.4 Meter and Piece Structure

While the contrast between duple and triple patterns is of limited importance in the organization of phrases in a melody, it again becomes a factor of some significance in the structure of a piece as a whole. In section 7.1 of this chapter, we noted a strong correlation between meter and genre. Specifically, astara and amjerd are in free rhythm, tbil is in duple time, the riḥ-s of amarg are metrically diverse, and l-adrub are primarily in compound duple. If these elements are set in order as they appear in performance, it becomes clear that each piece is, in effect, a short suite, following a clear progression of meters (Table 10).

The changes in meter are generally accompanied by an acceleration of tempo. The second in a series of songs is faster than the first. Tamsust (lit.: movement, shaking) pushes the tempo still faster, to bring

the music up to full speed for l-adrub. Overall, the tempo may more than double in speed from beginning to end of a piece.

TABLE 10

Progression of Meters in Performance

a) <u>Astara</u>	+	<u>Tbil</u>	+	<u>L-Adrub</u>
Free Rhythm	+	Duple	+	Compound Duple
b) <u>Astara</u>	+	<u>Amarg</u>	+	<u>L-Adrub</u>
		Free Rhythm (<u>Amjerd</u>)		
		Duple	+	Compound Duple
Free Rhythm	+	Triple		
		Compound Duple		

As demonstrated in the discussion of performance, the actual order of sections is not rigidly fixed. Nonetheless, the progression of meters outlined in Table 10 is followed far more often than not in individual pieces. The organization of an entire performance is cyclical, since the same metric progression is repeated in each piece. Yet even on the broadest level, a performance tends to emphasize the different meters in succession.

Passages in free rhythm receive the most attention early in performance. In fact, the longest astara is performed before the performance is fully underway. Thereafter, an astara is performed most often at the beginning of a piece, and somewhat less frequently between sections, to mark in a sense a new beginning. Similarly, in a series of enchainé songs, only the first is likely to be performed in amjerd.

Duple meter, too, falls toward the beginning of a performance. The most rigidly duple genre in the rwais' repertory--tibil--comes only at the opening of performance. In cases where two songs are enchainé or otherwise paired (as in the two sides of a record), there is a marked

tendency to move from duple to compound duple. Out of the eighteen rih-s in the sample, eight are followed by another rih in compound duple. Six of the duple rih-s are linked to another duple melody, thus forming three pairs. Three more are performed in isolation. Only one of the eighteen is paired with a preceding compound duple rih (see the transcriptions of performances in Appendix III).

The progression of meters reflects an increasing rhythmic complexity from beginning to end of a piece. Free-rhythm passages are rhythmically diffuse, concerned with melody (astara) or text (amjerd), to the exclusion of metric considerations. The rigidly duple tbil melodies provide little rhythmic interest; the rhythm must be regular to help coordinate the group dance. The measured settings for poetry (rih) show considerably more rhythmic diversity. Yet a performer cannot overemphasize rhythmic complexity in choosing a rih, since the melody must carry the text comfortably; nor can he ignore melodic interest, since the rih must help sustain audience interest for as many as thirty or forty repetitions. In l-adrub, which are meant to accompany an acrobatic, individualistic dance, the constraints on rhythm are removed, and the rwais are free to explore every rhythmic device available to them.⁹

The progression from free rhythm to duple to compound duple is not unique to the rwais. A similar pattern of overall metric organization is

9 The shift in musical emphasis from, so to speak, Apollonian to Dionysian principles reflects a similar shift in the character of performance, from order to anarchy. The tbil is a group dance, with all performers going through the same motions to create a unified pattern. Amarg is more a solo effort, but it requires an orderly group, subservient, at least temporarily, to the demands of the lead singer. In l-adrub, on the other hand, the leader may lose control of the group. Some of the more impetuous members may take the initiative away from the leader, and introduce qderb melodies of their own choice. This breakdown of order is typified by the rkza charges on bu naqus.

found in many varieties of communal, folk, and professional music in Morocco, such as the urban song form al-milhun (Schuyler 1974). Above all, however, the organization of the rwais' performance conforms to patterns established in village music of the tashlhit-speaking region. In an ahwash recorded and published by Lortat-Jacob (1975: Side A, Band 1), for example, the first enunciations of the melodic line are vague and unfocussed. Soon, a strongly accentuated duple pattern becomes evident. Drum accompaniment is, at first, minimal; in other performances, the drum ensemble may be absent altogether for the first few minutes. As the music accelerates, it begins to pass over a tizi (lit., mountain pass) between simple and compound duple. At first the lead drummer throws in only an occasional "off beat" emphasizing a ternary, rather than binary, subdivision of the basic beat. Gradually, these interjections become frequent, until the leader, and at least one of the subgroups of the ensemble, end up playing consistently in compound duple. The transition is more rapid in the rwais' music, but the progression is the same, as is the means of transition, through a modulatory passage (tizi or tamsust) rather than an abrupt change.

In sum, the contrast between binary and ternary patterns is the most striking feature of rhythmic organization in the rwais' music. Compound duple rhythms, in which binary and ternary elements can be juxtaposed in numerous ways, predominate in any performance. The most clear-cut duple and triple melodies can be rendered ambiguous by a slight shift in accent, or by a six-pulse naqus accompaniment. Simple duple melodic phrases may also be structured additively, contrasting two- and three-beat segments.

On a broader level, melodic structure is characterized by symmetry and balance. Most melodies are divided into an even number of phrases, and the phrases in turn divided into an even number of rhythm cycles. Nonetheless, even here there is some tension between binary and ternary organization, as, for example, when two- and three-phrase segments are juxtaposed in a composite melody.

Finally, the tension between twos and threes is an important factor in the organization of an entire piece. There is a pronounced tendency among the rwais, as among village musicians in the tashlhit-speaking region, to move from free rhythm to simple duple, to compound duple. This progression reflects a gradual shift in emphasis in performance from melody (and text) to rhythm.

CHAPTER 8

MODE AND MELODY

The music of the rwais, and of the Ishlḥin in general, is distinguished from that of most Moroccan groups by the use of wide-ranging pentatonic melodies. Pentatonic melodies may once have been predominant in the music of Berber tribes throughout North Africa, but the influence of Arabic music has lead to their disappearance in most areas (Gerson-Kiwi 1967:17; Hornbostel and Lachmann 1933:5). Urban Arab musicians employ a variety of heptatonic modes derived from the music of the Middle East or Muslim Spain¹. Rural Arabs, as well as Berbers from the Middle Atlas and Rif mountains, also use diatonic melodies, but these are generally confined to a range of a fifth or less. Only the Ishlḥin, the Gnawa, and a few Arabized neighbors of the Ishlḥin have retained pentatonic modes as the basis for most of their melodies.

The great majority of the rwais' pentatonic melodies are anhemitonic, although a few modes make systematic use of a semitone. These pentatonic melodies, with or without semitone, are the subject of this chapter. In a few isolated instances, the rwais have also borrowed Arabic diatonic melodies, or introduced Arabic modes in melodies of their own composition. The rwais' use of diatonic modes is treated in Chapter 10.

¹ In Morocco, the repertory of classical Andalusian music contains a few pieces in a pentatonic mode, known as Rasḍ Gnawi.

8.1 Tuning

The *rwais* express their modal theory primarily in terms of tuning, and, to a lesser extent, tablature. The musicians' stories of the earliest ensembles reflect this interest in tuning. According to one informant, the first ensemble was formed not for purely musical reasons, nor yet to expand entertainment possibilities, but because two musicians liked each other: "A rbaibi (rribab-player) and an otairi (lotar-player) were friends, so they wanted to work together. But it wasn't easy. The first time, it took them an entire day just to get in tune." Another rais trying to top that story, told of two musicians who took three days to get in tune, and in the course of their struggles,

a man approached them, and said as-salamu Calaikum ["Peace be upon you," the traditional Muslim greeting, to which the proper response is wa Calaikum as-salam, "upon you be peace"]. The musicians were so involved in their tuning that they did not respond, so the man repeated his greeting, as-salamu Calaikum. There was still no response, so he repeated it a third time. The musicians continued to ignore him, so he took leave, saying, "That music will surely take you to Hell. It has already taken away the Prophet's greeting and peace."

Even today, tuning the ensemble is no easy task. The lotar alone presents no difficulties. The four strings are tuned in fifths (c g D A), no matter what the tuning system or actual pitch level. The walnut pegs turn smoothly, but hold well, and the clear sound of the steel strings facilitates the process of tuning. Tuning the rribab, on the other hand, is a complicated procedure. The bundle of horsehairs forming the single string (ftelt) has little elasticity. Tuning up to match a high voice takes strenuous effort; the ftelt is so strong that the string is less likely to snap under the strain of tuning than is

the tuning peg itself.² For minor adjustments, pitch can also be altered by sliding the string bridle (ljam n lftelt) up or down. This change then requires an adjustment in the thumb loop (ljam n ufus), by twisting or untwisting it, so that the left hand will fall in the proper position. The fundamental - and every other pitch - of the rribab, is ambiguous, obscured as it is by the bead sound-modifier stretched across the face of the instrument. Matching the clear, precise pitches of the lotar to the gravelly, elusive pitches of the rribab can be frustrating and time consuming.

The rwais make use of three tuning systems. Since the relative tuning of the lotar remains constant, the determining factor in identifying a tuning system is the relationship between the rribab and lotar. Specifically, the open string of the rribab may be tuned to any of three principal strings of the lotar, G, D, or A, thus yielding three systems: 1. ashlhi, in which the rribab is tuned to the third string (G) of the lotar; 2. agnaw, in which the rribab is tuned up a step to the first string (A) of the lotar; and 3. l-m'akkal, in which the rribab is tuned down to the middle string (D) of the lotar.

I have chosen the pitch designations for convenience in notation. In any case, absolute pitch has little relevance to tuning. The major consideration in choosing the pitch level for the ensemble is the lead

² Individual hairs break with considerable frequency. Indeed, part of the process of tuning involves removing broken hairs from the ftelt and the bow as well as combing and spreading the hairs with the fingers, to insure the best possible sound. While a few hairs break every time the instrument is played, the whole bundle is so thick that it is never in danger of breaking; the tone of the ftelt gives out long before its strength. Though I never actually saw a peg break in the process of tuning, I have seen, and felt, several come close to that point. One informant never travelled without a spare peg.

singer's voice. The rwais maintain that agnaw is best for an unusually high voice, while l-m'akke is suitable for a low voice. In practice, however, the pitch level of the entire ensemble can be raised or lowered to permit any singer, man, woman, or child, to sing in ashlhi. In fact, all but one of the rih-s in the sample are set in ashlhi, while agnaw and l-m'akke are reserved for instrumental music (Table 11).

TABLE 11
Tuning and Genre

	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	Total
<u>Ashlhi</u>	25	76	71	172
<u>Agnaw</u>	9	1	19	29
<u>L-M'akke</u>	6		3	9
	40	77	93	210

8.2 Ashlhi

Ashlhi 1. The term ashlhi, derived from Arabic, means "Berber" in the dialects of the High Atlas and Sus regions. The plural, Ishlhin, and the feminine, tashlhit, are terms which by now should be familiar to the reader. The term ashlhi is also used to designate the tuning system in which the rribab is tuned to the third string (G) of the lotar. The name is aptly chosen, because this tuning yields the modes

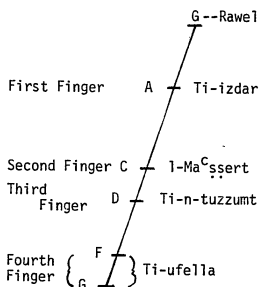
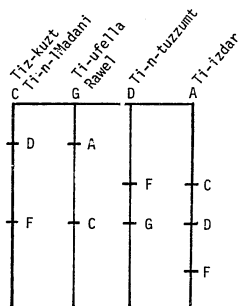
3 In my system of transcription, D turns out to be the most common finalis, and the root of the most frequently used modes. In this system, anhemitonic melodies can be transcribed with a minimum of accidentals and ledger lines. Chottin (1933) transcribed the same pitch as C. Lortat-Jacob (1973) notates village modes, similar to the rwais, starting from E, in order to conform to the system suggested by Brailoiu (1973:348).

most frequently used by the Ishlhin, both rwais and village musicians alike. Table 11 shows that more than three-quarters of the melodies in the sample are in ashlhi, but that figure does not adequately reflect the dominance of the system. Of the 96 pieces from which the sample was drawn, 89 were in ashlhi. Even this statistic is misleading, however, since in collecting I specifically sought out pieces in agnaw and l-m'akkel. During two years of fieldwork, I witnessed almost daily performances by numerous groups in a variety of situations, and the occasions on which agnaw or l-m'akkel were used spontaneously could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Significantly, every commercial recording of the rwais that I am aware of was performed in ashlhi. Many, perhaps most, rwais can play in no other system, and a few seemed unaware that other systems exist. Furthermore, the dominant mode in the ashlhi system is also the mode most frequently used in ahwash.

The rwais use two different tablatures in ashlhi, for both rribab and lotar. Of these, the tablature shown in Table 12 is by far the most common, being used in all but ten of the sample melodies in the system. The open string (G) of the rribab is known as rawel. The first finger position, call ti-izdar (the one below), holds a pitch (A) a whole step above the open string. The middle finger position, l-maCşşert (the olive press), is a minor third (C) above ti-izdar, and a perfect fourth above rawel. The third finger, ti-n-tuzzumt (the one in the middle), is a fifth (D) above rawel. Finally, the fourth finger, ti-ufella (the one above), is a minor third (F) above ti-n-tuzzumt, and a major second below the octave of the open string. The fourth finger frequently slides up to G; it need not hold that position,

TABLE 12⁴
Ashlhi, Tablature 1

F	G	A	C	D	f
1	2	3	5	6	1

a) rribabb) lotar

however, since the octave can be maintained by lightening the pressure of the bow on the string to produce harmonics. Altering the pressure of the bow can also produce the octave (i.e., the second partial) of the first, second, and sometimes the third finger positions, giving the instrument a total range of an octave plus a fourth or fifth.

The four strings of the lotar are known, in descending order of pitch, as: 1. ti-izdar (A); 2. ti-n-tuzzumt (D); 3. ti-ufella, or rawel

4 This diagram of tablature has been adapted from Chottin 1933:21. My findings differ from Chottin's in several ways, however. His tablature for the rribab combines both fingering patterns used in ashlhi, while his tablature for the lotar gives only the second, and less common, pattern (see below).

(G); and 4. tiz-kuzt, or ti-n-lMadani (C). The interval of a fifth between the strings is, in every case, spanned by a minor third and two whole steps. The strings are, for the most part, fingered in one of two ways, depending on the order of these intervals. The difference between the two fingerings lies in the position of the first finger. On the top two strings (D and A), the first finger holds a pitch a minor third (F and C) above the open string. On the bottom two strings (C and G), the first finger is a major second (D,A) above the open string. On all four strings, the third finger holds a fourth above the open string. In most cases, therefore, this tablature requires the use of only two fingers on the left hand. On those occasions when the melody reaches the high F on the first string, the little finger is used.

Most melodic activity on the lotar is concentrated on the top two strings, with occasional excursions onto the third string. When the ensemble includes two or more otairi-s, however, one of them may play on the bottom two strings, paralleling the melody an octave below. In rare instances, a lotar virtuoso may move up the neck to play an octave above the main melody.

The pitch/string names on the rribab and the lotar are not entirely consistent with each other. Their terms rawel, ti-izdar, and ti-n-tuzzumt identify the same scale degrees on both instruments (G, A, and D respectively), though not the identical pitches, since rawel and ti-n-tuzzumt are an octave lower on the lotar than on the rribab. On the other hand, though the fourth string of the lotar and the middle finger position of the rribab both play the same scale degree (C), they have different names, tiz-kuzt or ti-n-lMadani on the lotar and l-ma^Cssert

on the rribab. At the same time, ti-ufella identifies entirely different pitches on the loṭar (= rawel, G) and the rribab (F).

Pitch/string nomenclature on the two instruments appears to be the result of different conceptual processes. The names of the first three strings of the loṭar are based on visible physical relationships. Considering these three strings alone, the third string (ti-ufella) is literally "the one above", the one farthest from the ground; the first string (ti-izdar) is then "the one below"; and the second string (ti-n-tuzzumt) is "the one in the middle"⁵. The fourth string, added within the past twenty years or so, does not fit readily into this system; it is called simply tiz-kuzt, "the fourth one", or ti-n-lMadani, "Madani's (string)", after its putative inventor.

Pitch terminology on the rribab has been influenced by the string nomenclature of the loṭar. That is, ti-izdar (A) and ti-n-tuzzumt (D) are named for the corresponding strings on the loṭar. These two pitches, along with rawel (G), are all that are needed for tuning the ensemble. The second finger position (C) is known as l-maCṣṣert (the

5 Chottin identified the three strings as: 1. ntua (female), 2. dker (male), and 3. ragul (i.e., rawel) (1933:19). The first two terms are Arabic in origin. The terminology may well have changed over the past forty years; it is not, after all, completely fixed even today. On the other hand, Chottin's informants may have used Arabic terminology in this case, as both they and my own informants did in other instances, to make themselves more readily understood, or to display their erudition.

In any event, Moroccan Arab musicians also make use of the vertical dimension to describe pitch and string relationships. The treble string course on an Cud, for instance, may be called at-taḥtani, "the lower one", while the bass is known as al-fuḡani, "the upper one". A teacher may advise a student to move his left hand "down" the neck to sharpen a pitch, or "up" to flatten it. In western musical terminology, "up" and "down" refer to the frequency of a pitch (or its position) on the staff, and hence mean precisely the opposite.

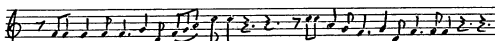
olive press) because, in the words of one young rais, it "squeezes out the melody", by serving as a passing or leading tone. The fourth finger position (F) is called ti-ufella (the one above) because it is on the opposite side of tuzzumt from ti-izdar (the one below); in fact, however, ti-ufella is "above" ti-izdar in neither a physical nor even a musical sense, since, by octave displacement, the first finger position usually has a melodic role a major third above the fourth finger. We have already seen that the name l-macşşert is not used in loţar terminology, while ti-ufella identifies different pitches on the two instruments; the rwais can afford a certain ambiguity in naming these two pitches on the rribab, however, since they play no role in tuning.

The anhemitonic pentatonic scale that gives rise to this tablature has two steps of a minor third (A-C and D-F) separated by a major second (C-D), and one interval of a major third (F-A) spanned by two whole steps (F-G, G-A). For purposes of comparative analysis, Constantin Brailoiu (1973:347-8) suggested that pentatonic scales are best schematized in cipher notation. Furthermore, since there is only one interval of a major third which Brailoiu identified by the Greek term, pycnon) in the scale, he proposed that the notation of the scale begin from this point. Thus, the basic scale of ashlhi would be notated as follows:

F	G	A	C	D	f
1	2	3	5	6	1

No functional value should be attached to the numerical notation. The first step of this scale need not be the tonic; in fact, it seldom is. Brailoiu pointed out (1973:360-62) that any note of the anhemitonic pentatonic scale can serve as the finalis of a melody. An examination of the rwais¹ repertory confirms his statement, as examples 26-30 illustrate.

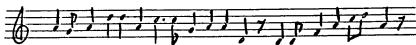
Example 26. Rih in ashlhi with finalis on degree 1 (F) (RV 2.3; Schuyler 1978b, Side 1, Band 3; cf. Examples 3, 17, 24).



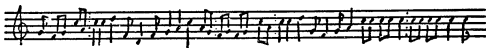
Example 27. Rih in ashlhi with finalis on degree 2 (G) (RV 1.1b; cf. Example 13a).



Example 28. Rih in ashlhi with finalis on degree 3 (A) (HOW 2.6).



Example 29. Dderb melody in ashlhi with finalis on degree 5 (C) (RLTZ 1.2).



Example 30. Rih in ashlhi with finalis on degree 6 (D)

(RV 2.2; cf. Chapter 7-passim).



While any pitch in the general anhemitonic scale can serve as the finalis for a melody and the root of a specific scale, an analysis of the rwais' repertory shows that the incidence of the different final pitches is far from equal. Table 13 shows that pitch 1 (F) serves as the finalis in slightly less than 20% of the ashlhi melodies using Tablature 1, while pitch 5 (C) appears as the finalis in only five melodies altogether. The most frequently used finalis is clearly pitch 6 (D), which occurs in slightly less than two-thirds of the ashlhi melodies, and nearly one-half of the melodies in the entire sample. The resulting scale, 6 1 2 3 5 6 (D F G A C d), might be called the ashlhi of ashlhi, that is, the most typical scale of the Ishlhi. Its prominence is even greater than these figures indicate, if one recalls that agnaw and l-m'akkel, accounting for about one-fifth of the analyzed melodies, are over-represented in the sample. Lortat-Jacob (1973) and Chottin (1933) both provide further evidence of the importance of this particular mode. Lortat-Jacob found that three-quarters (12 of 16) of the different ahwash melodies he recorded in 1969 were of this type (1973:III,39-40). Although Chottin identified rawel (pitch 2) as the tonic of ashlhi, 27 of the 33 melodies he transcribed in ashlhi (1933:61-71), representing both village and professional music, actually terminate on tuzzumt (pitch 6).

TABLE 13
Finalis in Ashlhi Melodies, Tablature 1.

Pitch	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	Total
1		20	10	30
2	1	6	13	20
3		5	3	8
5		1	4	5
6	<u>24</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>99</u>
	25	76	61	162

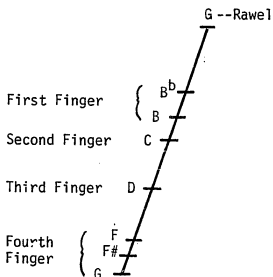
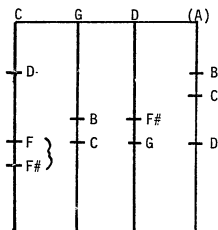
Ashlhi 2. The second tablature used in ashlhi⁶ (Table 14) produces a scale very different from the one just examined. On the rribab, the principal difference between the two systems lies in the position of the first finger. In the second tablature, the first finger moves up to a major third (B), or sometimes a minor third (B^b) above the open string (G). The second and third fingers remain the same (C and D). The fourth finger often stops the string a major third (F[#]) above tuzzumt (D), but it may, alternatively, hold its old position (F).

The manner of fingering the strings of the lotar is less changed, but the patterns are executed on different strings. That is, the tablature again calls for two basic fingering patterns, which differ according to the position of the first finger. On the fourth string, tiz-kuzt (C), the index finger stops the string a major second above the open string, and the third finger is a major third (F[#]) above

6 This tablature is sometimes called l-m'akkel.

TABLE 14
Ashlhi, Tablature 2

		#			b
C	D	F	G	B	c
1	2	4	5	7	1

a) rribabb) lotar

that. On the third and second strings (G, D), the first finger holds a position a major third (B, F#) above the open string, with the third, or second, finger another minor second (C, G) above. In other words, the wide steps in the scale (in this case a major third rather than a minor third) fall between the first and third fingers, or between the open string and the first finger. The fingering of the second, third, and fourth strings of the lotar in ashlhi 2 is thus analogous, though not identical, to the fingering of the first, second, and third strings in ashlhi 1.

The fingering of the first string in ashlhi 2 requires a new pattern. First, the open string (A) has no equivalent in the rribab

tablature, nor does the pitch appear in the mode associated with ashlhi 2. The otairi must therefore avoid the open first string, a position much used in other contexts. Furthermore, whereas in other cases the left hand can span the range of a fourth by stopping a string in just two places, here the otairi must use three fingers on one string simply to cover a minor third. In all, the fingering of the first string in ashlhi 2 is so awkward that musicians tend to avoid the string altogether. Indeed, in order to follow the rribab in this tablature, the otairi must play predominantly on the bottom two strings, which in other cases are little used.

While all of the scales generated by the first tablature of ashlhi can be considered as part of a single modal system, the scale produced by the second tablature represents a true change of system, or in Brailoiu's terminology, metabole (1973:409). The scale that gives rise to the second tablature has only one fixed interval, the major second between C and D. Again, the scale contains two wide steps, in this case often a major, rather than a minor, third (G-B, D-F#). Two smaller intervals, usually of a minor second (B-C, F#-G) complete the scale. The theoretical scale of ashlhi 2 clearly cannot have F as its fundamental, since F is replaced in melodies, as often as not, by F#. Indeed, the pycnon (a major third spanned by two whole steps) is nowhere evident in this system. The two major thirds in the scale cannot be regarded as "gapped" pycnons since, in both cases, the upper pitch (B, F#) is unstable. If, on the other hand, we posit a "defective" rather than a "gapped" pycnon, we can base the new system on pitch 5 (C) of the old, and thus take advantage of the one stable

8.3 Agnaw

Agnaw 1. In agnaw, the rribab is tuned up a whole step to correspond to the first string (A) of the lotar. The retuning has little effect on the actual pitch level of melodies. First, as I have indicated earlier, absolute pitch is not an important consideration in identifying a tuning system. Secondly, the tonic drops from the third finger of the rribab to the second, so the finalis of the most common scale in agnaw, as in ashlhi, is D. Nonetheless, the rribab is tuned slightly higher in agnaw than the usual pitch level of ashlhi. Though the tonic may remain the same, the increased tension on the string gives the instrument a thinner, tauter tone, which may make a melody in agnaw sound higher than it actually is.

The term agnaw invites some speculation as to the origin of the tuning system and the resulting modes and melodic patterns. The name immediately suggests a relationship to the Gnawa, a black religious brotherhood of sub-Saharan origin. Chottin, indeed, called the tuning system agnawi, by analogy to gnawi (the singular of gnawa), and translates it as "jeu guineen" (1933:19). The scale of agnaw (see below) is, in fact, identical to that used by the Gnawa. Linguistic evidence, however, seems at first to contradict the contention that agnaw was derived from the Gnawa.

Groups of Gnawa can be found throughout the tashlhit-speaking region, attached to zawia-s (religious lodges) or organized informally among Black tenant farmers. The Ishlhin, however, do not use the name Gnawa for these groups; rather, the Gnawa are known as isuqin

(chattels), ismgan (blacks), or l-Cabid (Arabic for slaves). At the same time, the term agnaw does exist in tashlhit, but it is used to mean "mute" (Galand 1973:3) or "mush-mouthed" (that is, imprecise in diction and intonation; Mohamed Najmi, personal communication). In its latter connotation, agnaw seems to refer specifically to the way black Berbers speak tashlhit. This may, indeed, explain the relation between agnaw and the Gnawa. That is, the Blacks who first came to settle in the villages of the High Atlas and Sus, as slaves or tenant farmers, were originally "mute" in that they did not speak tashlhit, then "mush-mouthed" in that they spoke the language with an accent.

Both the rwais and the Gnawa vehemently deny that there is any connection between their two styles of music. This position was most steadfastly defended by HMBM, the only rais I knew who had actually been a Gnawi at one time. This distinction, however, seems to be based primarily on social considerations, and secondarily on specific stylistic differences between the two musics. In general terms, the two styles show a strong similarity, particularly in their use of pentatonic modes and compound duple rhythms. This similarity was tacitly recognized by a group of urban, Arabic-speaking Gnawa, at the same time as they denigrated their Berber colleagues: when they heard a recording of themselves replayed at high speed, one commented, "Hmph, that sounds like rwais." The similarity was also recognized more favorably by two of my younger informants, a rais and a Gnawi ginbri-player who had once worked in the same tourist restaurant. They both expressed admiration for the other's musicianship, and the rais suggested that they get together and collaborate on a piece, perhaps on

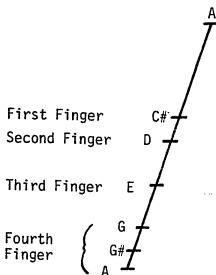
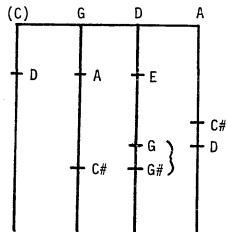
the lines of Aba'amran's rbaCt with flute. Nothing ever came of the suggestion, however.

The rribab tablature in agnaw is identical to the second tablature in ashlhi (Table 15). The same two basic patterns of lotar fingering, observed in both ashlhi 1 and ashlhi 2, reappear in agnaw. However, the new relationship between rribab and lotar affects the configuration of the lotar tablature. In agnaw, the first two strings of the lotar (A, D) have the same patterns, and bear the same relationship to the rribab, as did the last two strings (C, G) in ashlhi 2. The bulk of melodic activity on the lotar has therefore returned to the top two strings. The third string repeats the fingering pattern of the second.

TABLE 15

Agnaw, Tablature 1

		#		#
D	E	G	A	C
1	2	4	5	7

a) rribabb) lotar

That is, the first finger stops the string a whole step (A) above open, while the third finger stops the string a major third (C#) above the first finger position. Only the first finger is used on the fourth string, holding a position a major second (D) above open. Unlike ashlhi 2, no string in this tablature is considered unplayable, although in fact the fourth string is seldom used.

The scale structure of agnaw, as the rribab tablature indicates, is identical to ashlhi 2, one step higher in pitch:

		#		#	
D	E	G	A	C	D
1	2	4	5	7	1

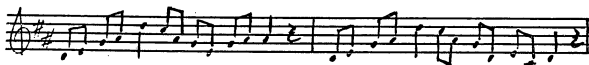
Table 16 indicates that agnaw, like ashlhi 2, yields essentially only one scale, rather than a whole system, with scales rooted on several different pitches of the theoretical scale. The great majority of melodies in agnaw end on pitch 1 (D) of the scale above (Example 32). The only real alternative finalis is pitch 5 (A), the open string of the rribab (Example 33), although one melody in the sample ended on pitch 2 (E).

The prominence of pitch 1, and to a lesser extent pitch 5, in agnaw is indicative of the attractive strength of the semi-tone, which might justifiably be called the leading tone in this case. Of the five pitches of the mode, only three (1, 2, 5) are stable, and suitable for generating a scale. Of these, only pitch 1 is consistently preceded by a semitone, pitch 7 (C#). Pitch 5 (A) is often preceded by a semitone, but pitch 4 (G/G#) fluctuates more than does pitch 7. The interval between pitches 1 and 2 (D-E) is invariably a whole step. In

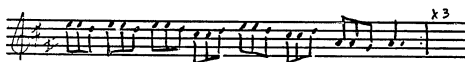
TABLE 16
Finalis of Melodies in Agnaw, Tablature 1.

Pitch	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-adrub</u>	Total
1	8	1	12	21
2			1	1
4				
5	1		2	3
7				
	9	1	15	25

Example 32. Tbil melody in Agnaw, with finalis on pitch 1 (D)
(RV 7.1.4).



Example 33. Qtac in Agnaw, with finalis on pitch 5 (A)
(RV 4.1.20).



short, the pitch most regularly preceded by a semitone is the one likely to serve as the root of a scale.

The raising of the fourth and seventh degrees of agnaw (and ashlhi 2) distinguish the mode(s) from any generated by the first tablature of ashlhi. Besides yielding the semitonal intervals 4-5 and 7-1, the

raising of these scale degrees produces another interval characteristic of the mode, the augmented fourth. Disjunct leaps of a tritone may appear between low pitch 4 (G) and pitch 7 (C#), or, less frequently, between high pitch 4 (G#) and pitch 1 (D) (Example 34).

Example 34. Dderb melody in agnaw, with four leaps of an augmented fourth (RLTZ 1.3.12).



The agnaw scale type also appears occasionally in village music. Lortat-Jacob (1973:III,78) noted the use of a similar scale, with low pitch 4 and raised 7, in a women's wedding song in Ayt Mgun. Chottin (1933:61-2) also transcribed several examples of songs and flute music in agnaw from the Haha tribe in the Western High Atlas. In village music, as in professional music, however, melodies in agnaw constitute only a small part of the repertory.

The question of possible Gnawa influence on the rwais still remains. Example 35 demonstrates that the Gnawi scale (D E G A C d) is essentially identical to the rwais' agnaw, except that pitch 4 (G, played on an open string of the ginbri) is a fixed, rather than fluctuating pitch. Even this corresponds to the rwais' performance practice since, while the pitch fluctuates among the rwais, it is more often low than high. The example also illustrates the division of the melody into phrases, as well as the use of compound duple meter, which occurs frequently in Gnawa music (cf. Schuyler 1972: Side 2; and

Schuyler 1978d: Side 2, Band 2). Like the rwais, the Gnawa also use responsorial organization in their music, with the chorus performing in alternation with the leader's song. Furthermore, as was demonstrated in Chapter 6, the rwais' instrumentarium, from the use of sound modifiers on the rribab and loṭar to the exclusion of drums from the ensembles, reflects the influence of sub-Saharan music, if not of the Gnawa themselves.

Example 35. A gnawi song melody.



Although the music of the rwais resembles that of the Gnawa in several respects, these similarities are not sufficient, except perhaps in the case of instrumentation, to prove the influence of one style on the other. As far as I was able to determine, the rwais have not borrowed any specific melodies from the Gnawa, as they have from various village groups, Arab musicians, and even military bands (see Chapters 9 and 10). Indeed, there are important differences in detail between melodies used by the rwais and those of the Gnawa.

An examination of the Gnawa repertory⁷ indicates that the constituent phrases of a gnawi melody almost always show greater independence than do phrases in the music of the Ishlḥin. Furthermore, descending patterns are often featured prominently in gnawi melodies,

while the rwais' melodies are usually characterized by a rising contour. Finally, the tempo of Gnawa melodies ($\text{♩} = 40-70$) is slower than that used by the rwais, and the pitch level of voice, and particularly, instruments, may be noticeably lower.

In the end, we cannot say with certainty whether or not agnaw was borrowed by the rwais from the Gnawa. Since the scale form exists in village music, and since the rwais have borrowed neither specific melodies, nor yet a general melodic type, from the Gnawa, the mode may well be indigenous to the Ishlḥin. When naming their tuning/modal systems, however, the rwais, recognizing the similarity between agnaw and the gnawi scale, may simply have chosen the name by analogy, to distinguish it from ashlḥi the principal modal system of the Ishlḥin.

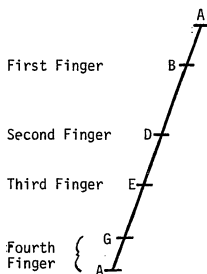
Agnaw 2. The rwais make occasional use of a variant scale form and fingering pattern in agnaw, just as they do in ashlḥi. On the rribab, the second tablature of agnaw (Table 17) actually reverses the transformation between ashlḥi 1 and 2. That is, the rribab fingering of agnaw 2 is identical to ashlḥi 1, just as agnaw 1 is identical to ashlḥi 2. The most significant difference between agnaw 1 and agnaw 2 is in the position of the first finger, which drops from C# to B. The second and third fingers maintain the same position; the fourth finger stops only the lowered pitch 4 (G) rather than fluctuating between raised and lowered positions.

7 This analysis of the Gnawa repertory is largely aural, based on a study of twelve tapes (GN 1-12) made over a two year period, supplemented by lessons on the Gnawa qinbri from two mCallemin (master musicians), interviews with a number of musicians and devotees, and attendance at various ceremonies and other performances.

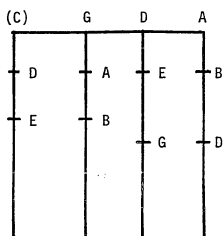
TABLE 17
Agnaw, Tablature 2

D	E	G	A	B	d
1	2	4	5	6	1

a) rribab



b) lotar



The lotar fingering of the top two strings (D, A) in agnaw 2 presents no difficulties. The wide step of a minor third (E-G, B-D) falls between the first and third fingers. As in ashlhi 2, modulation to agnaw 2 creates some unusual fingering patterns on the lotar. On both the third and fourth strings, the wide step falls between the top finger position and the next open string (E-G, B-D). The open fourth string (C) produces an extra-modal pitch, and hence cannot be used. Although the theoretical fingering of the third and fourth strings is not technically difficult to master (as is the fingering of the first string in ashlhi 2), the pattern is nonetheless unusual enough for the rwais to avoid playing on these strings.

Like ashlhi 2, agnaw 2 is used exclusively in instrumental music, primarily i-adrub. Unlike ashlhi 2, however, agnaw 2 does not really constitute a separate mode. The rwais may play several successive melodies in ashlhi 2, repeating each one a number of times, before returning to the main system, ashlhi 1. In agnaw, on the other hand, passages in agnaw 2 are really only phrases in a composite melody, and must alternate with parallel passages in agnaw 1 (Example 36). Thus, while agnaw 2 uses the same rribab tablature and has the same intervals (one step up) as ashlhi 1, the scale form must be analyzed in terms of agnaw 1:

D	E	G	A	B	d
1	2	4	5	6	1

Pitch 6 in agnaw might be regarded as an extra model pitch, or "enemy tone", replacing the normal pitch 7 (C#). In fact, however, pitch 6 is used primarily to ornament pitch 5 (A). Its incidental (or accidental) status is confirmed by Example 37 in which the vocal rih is in agnaw 1 exclusively, while the instrumental accompaniment inserts pitch 6 as an ornament.

Example 36. Dderb melody using agnaw 2 in first phrase and agnaw 1 in second phrase.



Example 37. Rih in agnaw 1, with "enemy tone" appearing in accompaniment (RLUD 1.2)



Although agnaw is well-known as a system, the rwais use it infrequently in performance. As Chottin indicated (1933:27) agnaw is reserved primarily for instrumental dance music, specifically, tbil ugnaw and its accompanying l-adrub (cf. Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 1). In addition to example 37, I recall having seen only one performance of a song in agnaw. Even instrumental performances in agnaw are rare. Musicians were willing enough to retune their instruments and record a tbil for me, as a tour de force and proof that they knew the old, esoteric repertory. However, only once did I see rwais take the time to retune in order to play agnaw during a regular performance. Whatever position agnaw may once have held in the rwais' repertory, pieces in the mode today have a largely reliquary status, preserved for performance in private sessions among rwais. The few younger musicians who have picked up the agnaw repertory are those striving for the reputation of top instrumentalist (ṣṇaṣi) rather than vocalist or poet.

8.4 L-M'akkel

L-M'akkel is the most elusive of the rwais' tuning/modal systems. Despite persistent inquiry, I was unable to obtain a clear verbal definition of the mode from the rwais and the few recordings I made that were identified as being in l-m'akkel provide contradictory information. Chottin is also vague in his discussion of l-m'akkel. He claims that the system involves tuning the rribab to correspond to the middle string (D, or C in his transcription) of the lotar, and adds that the tablature used may resemble either agnaw or ashlhi (1933:21). He includes no examples of pieces in l-m'akkel in his appended transcriptions.

The term l-m'akkel appears to have been derived from an Arabic word meaning "the one who has eaten, (or) been fed". This definition was confirmed by one rais, who could not, however, suggest what connotations the word might have had for the rais or rwais who named the tuning system. He believed, however, that the name might refer to the fingering of the rribab, where three fingers are clustered together in the middle of the string, "like food (l-makla) in the stomach". One might also note that the rribab is tuned to ti-n-tuzzumt, meaning literally the middle (stomach again?) of the lotar.

The rwais have as much difficulty giving a functional definition to the system as they do in defining its name. Many agree with Chottin's informants that the rribab should be tuned to the middle string (D) of the lotar. The description of the clustered rribab fingering above suggests that l-m'akkel might also be the name of the

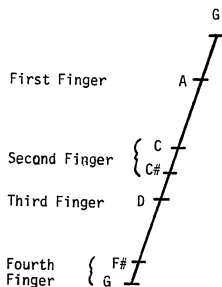
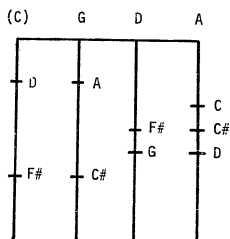
rribab tablature used in ashlhi 2 and agnaw. Yet on the one recording I made unequivocally identified as being in l-m'akkel (a tbil, RV 4.2), the rbaibi remained tuned to the third string (G) of the lotar, and played in a modified ashlhi 1 tablature (Table 18).

To confuse matters still further, one older rais spoke of a tuning system known as amanasfi ("half-and-half"), "which very few rwais know about. It's half in ashlhi and half in agnaw." Indeed, not a single rais I questioned, including several respected ṣnaḥia (instrumental specialists) had ever heard of such a mode, but from the description they surmised, as Chottin's brief mention might lead us to suspect, that the rais in question was actually describing l-m'akkel, but had perhaps forgotten the name.

The rwais' different statements and practices need not be confusing if we take them to describe two phenomena, a tuning system and a tablature. The lotar tablature in Table 18 is probably more reliable than the rribab tablature, because the three otairi-s who recorded the tbil from which it was drawn were all old-time ṣnaḥia, while the rribab player was younger and less experienced. Examining the lotar tablature, we see that the fingering of the bottom three strings (C, G, D) is identical to the fingering of the top three strings (G, D, A) in agnaw. At the same time, taken as a whole, the tablature on all four strings is very reminiscent of ashlhi 1. That is, C and F are usually raised a half step in l-m'akkel, but the general configuration of large and small intervals is identical to that of ashlhi 1. In that sense, l-m'akkel can be said to mix ashlhi and agnaw tablatures.

TABLE 18
L-M'akke1 Tablature
 (as performed in RV 4.2)

		#		#	
G	A	C	D	F	g
1	2	4	5	7	1

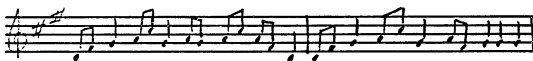
a) rribabb) lotar

As for pitch level, the rwais' theory calls for the rribab to drop a fourth from ashlhi (G-D), or a fifth from agnaw (A-D). Although the rribab did not retune from ashlhi in my recording of tbil l-m'akke1, the scale of the mode, which can be derived from the tablature or from the tbil melody in Example 38, is in fact identical to that used in agnaw, transposed down a fifth:

		#		#	
G	A	C	D	F	g
1	2	4	5	7	1

Loṭar tablature is also, in effect, lowered by a fifth, since, as I have indicated, the fingering is identical to that in agnaw, but is set one string (i.e., a fifth) away. The distribution of cadence points only confirms the similarity between l-m'akkeḷ and both agnaw 1 and ashlḥi 2, since the melodies terminate on pitches 1 (G), 2 (A), and 5 (D) only, and most (five of nine melodies) end on pitch 1.

Example 38. Tbil melody in l-m'akkeḷ. (RV 4.2).



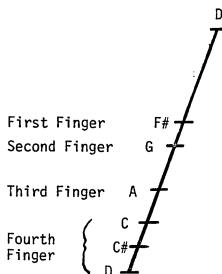
Both the tuning and the tablature of the rribab in the tḥil recording (RV 4.2) remain to be explained. The rribab is tuned to the third string (G) of the loṭar and uses a modified ashlḥi 1 fingering pattern, with the second and fourth finger positions (C, F) raised a half step. This contradicts both the theoretical tuning of l-m'akkeḷ (in which the rribab should be tuned to the second string) and the theoretical tablature (which calls for the fingers to be bunched in the middle of the string). If, on the other hand, the rbaibi had retuned his instrument to D, he would have had to finger the rribab in a clustered pattern (Table 19) in order to produce the scale used in these melodies. In that case, both tuning and tablature would conform to the theoretical definitions of l-m'akkeḷ.

The rbaibi's failure to re-tune and re-finger the rribab for l-makkeḷ might be explained by inexperience or laziness. Ignorance is clearly not an excuse, since the same rais provided the verbal

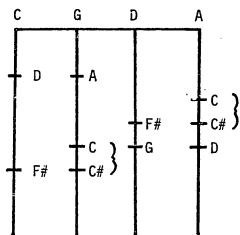
TABLE 19
L-M'akke1, Standard Tablature

		#	#
G	A	C	D
1	2	4	5

a) rribab



b) lotar



description of proper fingering for l-m'akke1. While he knew the proper fingering, however, he may have been unable to perform the t̤bil using that tablature. One might also explain the discrepancy as another instance of mixing ashl̤hi and agnaw in l-m'akke1. In any event, after two l-adrub in l-m'akke1, the whole ensemble lapsed back into ashl̤hi, lowering C# and F# to natural, and moving the tonic, in most cases, to tuzzumt (D).

On several occasions I was able to observe, but not record, a more striking example of mixed tunings and tablatures in l-m'akke1. Whenever there was discussion of the tuning, the name of one particular performer was consistently mentioned. Lahsen BuMarg is one of the oldest performers on the rwais' circuit. As his name implies (BuMarg

means "father of amarg", i.e. poetry) he is above all a poet. According to my informants, BuMarg uses l-m'akke exclusively. Perhaps for this reason, he generally prefers to perform alone. Occasionally, however, he joins up with other rwais, usually younger musicians looking for the experience and inspiration of work with an old master. This was the case when I saw him, on two occasions, in the market at Imi n Tanut, in the High Atlas. The groups were apparently pick-up groups, formed when the different performers met in the marketplace, and decided to consolidate their efforts; after the halqa had finished, the musicians went their separate ways. Because the younger musicians were not apprentices of BuMarg, and because they had probably not had experience performing l-m'akke, the other rwais had to try to follow BuMarg by modifying the more familiar ashlhi patterns. The otairi-s had relatively little difficulty following the melody since their tablature was little changed. The young rbaibi-s, on the other hand, were very tentative in their performance, and made a number of mistakes, although in other circumstances they showed themselves to be quite capable of performing alone. The problem was that, in trying to follow the leader, the information received by their eyes contradicted that coming in through their ears. When BuMarg played an internal cadence on the open string (D), the other rbaibi-s had to stop the string with the third finger (tuzzumt, D), and when he played the finalis (G), they had to drop to the open string. Thus, not only did the younger musicians have to contend with two different fingering patterns, their fingers (and, by octave displacement, the pitches) were often moving in opposite directions. BuMarg did not attempt to correct them, and, in

fact, often seemed oblivious to their presence. In short, l-m'akke1, the least used of the rwais' tuning systems, remains the most ill-defined.

Ultimately, all three tuning systems have the same general melodic characteristics. The rwais often pointed out that they could easily transpose melodies from one system to another (Examples 39-41). These transpositions affect specific intervals within a melody, but have little effect on the shape of the melody as a whole. Indeed, transposition from one scale to another within the main ashlhi system has a far greater effect on both the contour and intervallic structure of a melody (Example 42).

Example 39. Transposition of a tbil melody from a) ashlhi 1 to

- a) ashlhi 1 b) agnaw 1.
(HOW 8.1.3)

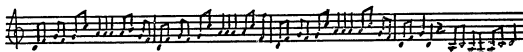


- b) agnaw 1 (RV 7.1.3; Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 1)

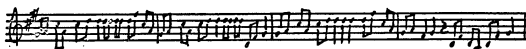


Example 40. Transposition of a tbil melody from a) ashlhi 1 to

- a) ashlhi 1 b) l-m'akke1.
(HOW 8.1.2)

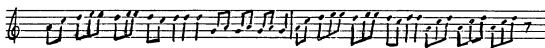


b) l-m'akke1 (RV 4.2.2)



Example 41. Transposition of a ḍderb melody from a) agnaw 1 to

a) agnaw 1 (RV 4.1) b) l-m'akke1.

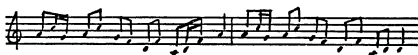


b) l-m'akke1 (RV 4.2)

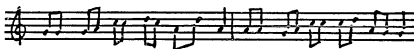


Example 42. Transposition of riḥ in ashlḥi from a) pitch 6 (D) to

a) Tuzzumt (pitch 6, D) (RV 1.1) b) pitch 2 (G).



b) Rawel (pitch 2, D) (RV 1.1b)



8.5 Melody

Range. The rwais' melodies all fall within a range of an octave plus a seventh (G-f). No single melody completely spans that range, however. Table 20 shows that more than two-thirds of the rwais' melodies have an ambitus of a sixth to an octave. Lortat-Jacob confirms

these findings, noting that most village melodies have a range of a seventh, or an octave (1973:III,41). The remaining third of the rwais melodies are divided almost equally between melodies covering a fifth or less and those covering an octave or more, with a slight balance in favor of the wider ranging melodies.

An examination of Table 20 reveals certain differences between the three main genres of the rwais music. Vocal melodies, for example, seldom deviate from the standard range. Melodies with an ambitus of a fifth or less belong almost exclusively to the instrumental, usually dḍerb, repertory. They are often single-phrase melodies used as introductory formulae (Example 43), or as "holding patterns" to be repeated while the leader plans his next move (Example 44).

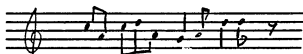
TABLE 20
The Ambitus of Melodies

	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	Total
3rd-4th	1		3	4
5th	1	5	19	25
6th	2	15	11	28
7th	9	15	22	46
8ve	14	33	27	74
8ve + 2nd	6	2	8	16
8ve + 3rd	2	7	3	12
8ve + 4th	5			5
	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 77	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 210

Example 43. Introductory tbil formula with range of a minor 3rd
(RV 7.1.1; Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 1).



Example 44. Single phrase dderb with range of a fifth (RV 2.3.2).



Wider ranging melodies are likewise more prevalent in the instrumental repertory. They are particularly important in the tbil repertory, where nearly a third of the melodies have an ambitus exceeding the octave (cf. Example 40).

Although more than half the melodies in the sample have an ambitus of an octave or more, most melodic activity takes place within a narrower range. The lowest, and particularly the highest, pitches of a melody are usually ornamental, falling on an unaccented beat and marking a change in melodic direction. Example 45, for instance, shows a vocal melody with a range of an octave (C-c), from the sub-tonic to the seventh, but most of the melodic activity takes place between the tonic (D) and the fifth (A). Furthermore, in most cases, no single phrase covers the complete range of a melody as a whole. Thus, in Example 40, the two melodies both have a range of an octave and a fourth (G-c, C-f), but the individual phrases all remain within an octave or a seventh.

Example 45. Instrumental version of rih with range of an octave (C-c)
(HOW 2.5).



Contour. The rwais' melodies follow what Brailoiu calls a profil crené (1973:376), a crenelated outline typical of pentatonic melodies throughout the world. Hajj Omar Wahrouch expressed the same idea to me in more culturally specific terms: "Our melodies are like the road over Tizi-n-Test (a high pass through the Western High Atlas); they go up and down with many, many curves." This analogy may be even more appropriate than the rais himself realized. Going from Marrakech to Agadir, the road over Tizi-n-Test rises slowly, with occasional dips, until it reaches the pass, whence it drops steeply and swiftly into the Sus Valley. In similar fashion, the rwais' melodies follow a predominantly rising contour. Rests, repeated notes, and dips in the melody only give the musicians a chance to gather their energy, as it were, for a new assault on the summit. And, just as the road eventually comes down to the valley floor, so the melodies must eventually (in most cases) descend to the finalis. But, again like the road to Agadir, the descent is usually more precipitous than the ascent.

In more concrete terms, the gradual rise in the rwais' melodies is achieved primarily through conjunct motion. As many as five notes may be enchainé in a single ascent, spanning the range of a sixth or seventh. In rare cases, an ascending line may actually reach the

octave, the extreme limit of continuous motion in either direction, by skipping one or another of the degrees of the scale. More usually, however, such a long ascent is accomplished in two separate passages of two to four enchainé notes, divided by a rest, repeat, or short descent. Melodies generally tend to turn down or rest after an ascent of a fifth, conjunct or disjunct, and in almost every case they must descend, at least briefly, on reaching the seventh.

More than two-thirds of the melodies in the sample (151 of 210) follow an initially rising contour. Most of these later return to their starting point, if not within the phrase, then by the end of the melody as a whole: in 149 of the sample melodies, the initial and final pitches are identical (91) or conjunct (58). The descent to the finalis or to an internal cadence is often achieved by conjunct motion. In most cases, however, melodies fall much more quickly than they rise. Thus, as we can see from Tables 21 and 22, disjunct intervals of a fourth or more appear far more frequently in descent than in ascent.

The rwais' repertory includes many variations on the basic pattern of a crenelated arch. Some melodies start from the upper reaches of the scale, follow a gradual descent, then rise again before a final drop to the tonic (Example 46). Others rise above the initial pitch, then drop below it and rise again to the finalis (Example 47), or vice versa. A few have a sawtooth pattern consisting entirely of conjunct ascending lines linked by disjunct descending leaps (Example 48). In almost every case, however, the contour of the rwais' melodies looks like a segment of a sine wave - though not nearly as regular. The difference between the contours of specific melodies stems from the relative position of

TABLE 21⁸

Melodies with One or More
Descending Disjunct Intervals

	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	Total
4th	27	55	52	134
5th	14	38	38	90
6th	3	15	11	29
7th	2	2	12	16
8ve	5		3	8

TABLE 22

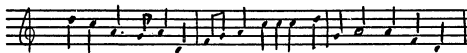
Melodies with One or More
Ascending Disjunct Intervals

	<u>Tbil</u>	<u>Rih</u>	<u>L-Adrub</u>	Total
4th	8	30	22	60
5th		11	3	14
6th				
7th		1	1	2

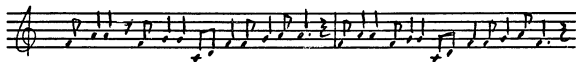
8 Disjunct intervals of a major third have not been tabulated, since ascending and descending thirds appear with great, and nearly equal, frequency in all melodies.

the initial and finalis on the wave (top, bottom, or middle) and the number of curves that lie between them.

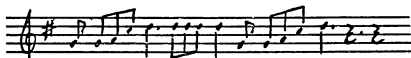
Example 46. Rih with contour descending from high tonic (RLTZ 1.2.2).



Example 47. Rih with contour above and below finalis (RV 3.3).



Example 48. Dderb with sawtooth contour (RV 4.1.12).



Symmetry and Pitch Hierarchy. The rwais' melodies often display symmetry of contour, as well as rhythm, between their constituent phrases. But whereas the realization of meter may be identical in each phrase, the melodic material usually shows some slight differences, to distinguish one phrase from another and create melodic interest. Thus, while 130 melodies in the sample have a high degree of melodic symmetry, only six have the identical contour and pitch relationships in each phrase.

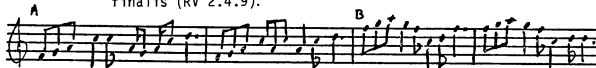
In a few cases, the contour of the separate phrases is identical, but set at a different pitch level (Example 49). Usually, however, the principal, and often the only, difference between phrases lies in the finalis and the approach to it. Only about 10% of the melodies in ashlhi have phrases ending on the same pitch, and in these instances

the phrases are generally distinguished from one another in other ways (Example 50). Melodies in agnaw have the same pitch (pitch 1) for internal and final cadences more frequently than do melodies in ashlhi, perhaps reflecting the greater gravitational pull of the tonic and its leading tone; nevertheless, even here phrases ending on the same pitch are the exception rather than the rule (Table 23).

Example 49. Dderb with phrases of same contour, set at different pitch levels (RMZ 2.2.6).



Example 50. Dderb with phrases of different contour, having same finalis (RV 2.4.9).



A phrase or a melody can end on any degree of the scale. However, as we have seen, there is a strong tendency for melodies in ashlhi to end on tuzzumt (pitch 6, D), and for those in agnaw or l-m'akke1 to end on l-ma^cssert (pitch 1, D or G depending on the tuning). Table 23 shows that internal cadences also follow clearly defined patterns, depending on the choice of finalis. Thus, an ashlhi melody ending on pitch 6 (D) is likely to have an internal cadence on pitch 1 (F) or pitch 3 (A), a minor third or a fifth above. A melody ending on pitch 1 (F) of ashlhi will probably have an internal cadence a major third (pitch 3, A) or a fifth (pitch 5, C) above. A melody ending on rawel

TABLE 23⁹Relationship of Finalis to
Internal Cadencea) Ashlhi

Finalis	Internal Cadence		Finalis	Internal Cadence		Finalis	Internal Cadence	
<u>6</u>	1	42	1	3	10	2	3	8
<u>6</u>	2	7	1	5	11	2	1	4
<u>6</u>	3	24	1	1	3	2	2	3
<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	4	1	<u>6</u>	4	2	5	2
<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	9	1	2	2			
		<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>
		86			30			17

b) Agnaw

Finalis	Internal Cadence	
1	1	7
1	2	2
1	4	1
1	5	7
1	7	4
		<hr/>
		21

⁹ The sample used in this table includes only the most common melody types, those in ashlhi and agnaw with the most frequently used finalis. Only melodies with two, three, or four phrases were tabulated; single-phrase melodies often do not have a clearly defined internal cadence, and the composite nature of melodies with more than four phrases obscures the relationship of internal and final cadences.

(pitch 2, G), on the other hand, is most likely to have an internal cadence on pitch 3 (A). In agnaw, when the internal cadence does not fall on the tonic itself (pitch 1, D), it is most likely to fall on the fifth (pitch 5, A). The emphasis on these internal cadences establishes a loose pitch hierarchy which helps distinguish the different tuning systems from each other, and, within each tuning system, one mode from another.

Cadential formulae. The rwais' melodies approach the finalis (internal or final) in a great variety of ways. Each mode generally has two or three frequently used cadential patterns. Some of these may be unique to the mode, like the 2-5-6 pattern or the 5-6-1-2-1 pattern in ashlhi (Examples 51-2). Other patterns, such as a disjunct descending fourth or fifth, or a conjunct ascending fourth, are shared by all the modes.

None of the cadential formulae is completely fixed. Thus, for example, one repetition of a melody may make a conjunct descent to the tonic from the fourth degree, while the next repetition makes a disjunct leap from the fifth. These different patterns may have a functional value, marking the end of a section of song and cueing the chorus to join in the refrain. Often, however, small changes are made simply for the sake of variety.

Example 51. Ashlhi cadential patterns on pitch 6 (D).

a) 1-5-6 b) 3-6 c) 3-5-6



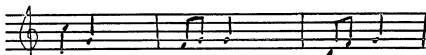
Example 52. Ashlhi cadential patterns on pitch 1 (F).

- a) 2-6-1 b) 6-1-2-1 c) 5-1



Example 53. Ashlhi cadential patterns on pitch 2 (G).

- a) 6-2 b) 1-2 c) 6-1-2



Example 54. Agnaw cadential patterns on pitch 1 (D).

- a) 2-7-1 b) 5-1 c) 5-7-1



Despite all the variations, an examination of the cadential formulae found in the most commonly used modes (Table 24) reveals certain general patterns. First, in every mode the approach to the tonic usually starts from above, most often from the fourth or fifth degree. This was to be expected, since most melodies open with a rising contour, but fall back toward the initial pitch at the end. Secondly, descending cadential patterns tend to be disjunct, while ascending patterns are almost inevitably conjunct. This too could have been predicted from Tables 21-2 (p. 208), which show that disjunct intervals are far more common in descent than in ascent. Finally, a melody often approaches the finalis obliquely, starting from above the tonic, dropping below it, and then quickly turning back up.

TABLE 24
Cadential Formulae

a) Ashlhi

1- <u>5</u> - <u>6</u>	19	2-6-1	4	5-2	9
2- <u>5</u> - <u>6</u>	16	3-1	5	6-2	3
2- <u>6</u>	18	5-1	9	<u>6</u> -1-2	3
2-1- <u>6</u>	2	<u>5</u> - <u>6</u> -1	7	1-2	5
3- <u>6</u>	11	(<u>5</u>)- <u>6</u> -1-2-1	5		
3-2-1- <u>6</u>	6				
<u>3</u> - <u>5</u> - <u>6</u>	12				
<u>2</u> - <u>3</u> - <u>5</u> - <u>6</u>	9				
Other	6				
	<u>99</u>		<u>30</u>		<u>20</u>

b) Agnaw

2- <u>7</u> -1	9
2-1	2
4- <u>7</u> -1	1
4-1	3
5-1	2
5-7-1	2
<u>4</u> - <u>5</u> - <u>7</u> -1	<u>2</u>
	21

8.6 Summary and Conclusions

In sum, the rwais employ three different tuning systems, of which one, ashlhi, is by far the most prominent. The rribab has two basic tablatures, one associated primarily with ashlhi, and the other associated mainly with agnaw (although it is sometimes named l-m'akkel). The lotar, by virtue of having four strings, has a greater diversity of tablatures, but the usable strings in each tuning system are fingered in one of two ways, depending on the placement of the first finger. Using the principal tablature of ashlhi it is possible to generate five different anhemitonic pentatonic scales; one of these (starting on pitch 6) is the most prominent scale among the rwais and the Ishlhin in general, but two others (from pitches 1 and 2) also appear with some regularity. Agnaw and l-ma'akkel, on the other hand each produce the same scale form (at different pitch levels), characterized by the systematic use of a semitone. The same scale, in fact, can also be produced by the ashlhi 2 tablature. Thus, the system has one tuning and tablature combination (ashlhi 1) that produces three to five scales, and another tablature that produces in essence only one scale in three different tunings.

Each of the measured genres in the repertory has certain distinct melodic characteristics. Tables 21-22, for example, indicate that disjunct intervals, particularly in ascent, are far more common in vocal melodies than in either type of instrumental melody. In general, Table 20 indicates, the widest ranging melodies belong to the tbil repertory, while the ḍderb repertory contains a relatively high

percentage of melodies with a range of a fifth or less. Furthermore, in a given tuning system, almost every t̤bil melody ends on the same finalis (Tables 13, 16). Although a riḥ may end on any pitch of the scale, the vocal melodies in a single piece (in ashlḥi) generally use only one, or at most two of the available modal possibilities. In a single series of l-adrub, on the other hand, all the modal possibilities of a tuning system may be exploited, including the use of variant tablatures such as ashlḥi 2 and agnaw 2. In short, in melody as in rhythm, the organization of a piece moves from tight control to spontaneity and variety.

CHAPTER 9
IMPROVISATION AND COMPOSITION

In an article on the popular songs of Middle Atlas Berbers (Imazighen), Jeannette Harries and Mohamed Raamouch (1971:52) noted that

the term 'oral tradition' as applied to Berber must not be misunderstood as designating a corpus of works inherited by succeeding generations, and learned by them with some fidelity to the originals. Rather it designates the forms, themes, and figures of verbal artistry which have developed (and no doubt changed) over succeeding generations. The works themselves are new creations, within the forms furnished by the tradition. Old themes and figures are reworked and recombined, and new ones added to reflect the world as the new generation experiences it.

These principles of creation apply equally to the music of the High Atlas. The discussion of performance that began this dissertation demonstrated that the overall form of a piece by the rwais varies according to the situation in which it is performed. The same formal elements (or segments) are present in practically every situation, but the order in which they appear, and, particularly, the emphasis they receive, varies from occasion to occasion.

This chapter will examine the reworking and recombination of themes and figures within the segments of performance. The discussion draws a distinction between improvisation and composition. The processes involved, which might be termed "invention within limits" (Bourdieu 1977:96), are much the same in both cases. However, as we shall see, the rwais place a very different value on the spontaneous, improvisatory changes made in instrumental melodies, and the premeditated, compositional changes made in vocal melodies.

9.1 Improvisation: Selection, Order, Repetition

The rwais practice their music; they do not rehearse for performance. Musicians often get together for informal performance in each other's homes, or, particularly, in the inns or residential cafes that serve itinerant musicians in the big cities. These sessions provide entertainment and practice for all the participants. They give older performers the chance to show off their knowledge of the more obscure parts of the repertory (like ṭbil l-m'akkel) and younger performers the chance to expand their own repertory. At the same time, the rwais also use these occasions to try out new compositions before an audience of their peers. Finally, the cafe sessions serve as a talent market as well: groups for the halqa are formed in cafes, and local group leaders often dip into the reservoir of musicians to pull out an extra sideman at the last minute for a wedding or restaurant performance.

Cafe performances do not, however, constitute advance preparation, or rehearsal, for a specific performance. Indeed, the pieces performed during practice sessions are often precisely those that would not be performed in a public situation: new, unfinished pieces; old and difficult pieces; and current, popular songs too closely identified with one performer to be played by another.

Advance preparation for a performance is carried out primarily verbally, if at all. The general format for each situation is understood by the performers, and in many cases no other musical preparation is needed. In the more highly organized performance situations, at some weddings or commercial establishments, the group leader may list a group

of songs in the order he intends to sing them, and assign alternate lead singers to relieve him (by performing their own material) at specified times in the performance. If one musician in the group wants to use a new rih or qderb melody unfamiliar to the others in the group, he may run through that melody separately before the performance begins. In a halqa, such discussions and demonstrations become a part of performance, and may serve as a motive for argument, leading into a slapstick routine. Only in a recording session do the rwais feel the need of a complete run-through of a piece before the actual performance.

With only a general agreement between them about the progression of elements in performance, the members of a group must follow the leader. The leader himself continually improvises. On the broadest level, this improvisation does not correspond to standard western definitions of improvisation, e.g., "The art of performing music spontaneously, without the aid of manuscript, sketches, or memory" (Apel 1969:404). Although the rwais rely on neither manuscript nor sketches, memory plays a critical role in their performance. Nonetheless, the performance can certainly be said to be spontaneous, since none of the musicians, by their own testimony, knows exactly what melodies are going to be played or how the performance will work out. The leader of the group, and, to a lesser extent, the other members, are constantly exercising various options in performance, concerning the choice of melodies, the order in which they are played, and the number of times they are repeated.

Selection. The freedom of choice in performance can best be seen in the tbil and qderb repertoires. Example 55 illustrates three examples of tbil ushlhi, by HOW (A), RM (B) and HMBM (C). Following an astara (not illustrated), all three versions of the tbil open with the

Example 55. Tbil variations

(A = RHOW 8.1; B = RM 1.1; C = RMZ 1.1).

The musical score consists of three systems of staves, each with a treble and bass clef. The first system is labeled A, B, and C at the bottom. The second system is labeled A, B, and C at the bottom. The third system is labeled A, B, and C at the bottom. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is written in a style typical of 20th-century musical notation.

Example 55, continued.

A_7
 A_9 ($2 A_4$)
 b

A_9
 B_9 (A_9)
 b

C_9 (A_9)
 D_9
 b

A_9
 B_9 (A_9)
 b

C_9 (A_9)
 D_9
 b

E_9 (A_9)
 F_9
 b

Example 55, continued.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with two staves. The first system shows measures 112 (top staff) and 110 (bottom staff). The second system shows measures 114 (top staff) and 112 (bottom staff). The third system shows measures 116 (top staff) and 114 (bottom staff). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

same basic motif (A1). This motif gives a clear indication to the audience that the following piece is to be a tbil. Most tbil performances in ashlhi use the same opening formula, or a variant, which can also be transposed for use in agnaw or l-m'akkel. The rwais do, however, have the option to eliminate this, or any other melody, from a given performance (cf. RHUM 1.1, and RV 2.5).

After the opening motif, the performances begin to diverge. Two rwais, RM and RHOW, continue along the same path playing variants of the most widely used four-phrase tbil melody. HMBM, on the other hand, chooses a six-phrase melody, transposed variants of which can be heard in tbil ugnaw (HOW 4.1, and Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 1). As the performances progress, more differences appear, primarily in the order in which various melodies are introduced. The three tbil-s have the majority of their melodies in common. Of the remaining melodies, most are found in two of the performances, although a few (e.g., C2, A3) are used by only one group. Table 25 gives a synopsis of the melodies used in each of the three performances, showing both unique and shared melodies, in the order in which they are introduced. Melodies are numbered according to the example in which they first appear (e.g. B1=A1, C9=B10).

Altogether, the rwais can draw on about 25-30 melodies and variants in putting together a tbil performance in ashlhi. Each melody is treated almost as an independent unit. The rwais often emphasize this independence by pausing for as long as ten seconds between two melodies or between repetitions of the same melody. A few of the melodies in the tbil repertory are mutually exclusive (e.g., A2, C2), and never appear together in the same performance. In most cases, however, the rwais can

TABLE 25

Selection and Order of Melodies
in Three Performances of Tbil Ushlhi

A (HOW 8.1):	A1: A2: A3: A4: A5: A6: A7: A8:
B (RM 1.1)	A1: A2: A7: A8: A5: A6:
C (HMBM/RMZ 1.1):	A1: C2: A7: A8:
A:	A9: A10: A11: A12: A13:
B:	A9: A11: B10: B11: B12: B13:
C:	A9: A11: A12: A13: B10: B11: B13: B12:

select and combine any of the melodies they wish. The choice depends on personal taste, memory, and the time allotted for performance. The same procedure is followed in agnaw, l-m'akkel, and other tbil-s, although the range of options is generally more limited in these cases.

Order. A few melodies occupy relatively fixed positions within the tbil. If melodies A1, A2, and C2 are used, they must appear at or near the beginning of the performance. Melodies B9 and B10, on the other hand, always come at the end of the tbil, when they are used at all, and provide the melodic material for tamsust, the metrically modulating bridge into l-adrub. Although no single melody is absolutely required for a performance of tbil, these melodies provide the most common framework for the form. Within this frame, the rwais may arrange the other melodies they choose in any order they wish. Furthermore, the leader may return to a melody after having introduced one or more intervening melodies. In some cases, two melodies are combined in a pair (e.g. A 7-8), always to be repeated as a unit. In other cases, however, the rwais may continue with new material after the return to a melody, without going on through the melodies that followed its first appearance. In all, the reordering of melodic units is reminiscent of techniques of

composition used in some genres of Japanese music (cf. Adriaansz 1969); in the rosai compositions of which Adriaansz writes, however, the order of units, once determined, remains fixed.

Repetition. Each melody or pair of melodies is repeated at least once, and often as many as six or more times, before going on to the next melody (or back to a previous one). The number of repetitions is entirely at the discretion of the leader. Thus, for example, HOW (A) repeats melody A1 three times, while EM (B) repeats the same melody only twice. In some cases (see below), multiple repetitions provide the occasion for improvisation of another sort, that is, melodic variation.

The three types of formal improvisation found in a tbil are still more in evidence in the qderb section of any performance. While the format and repertory of tbil places some restrictions on the selection, order, and even repetition of melodies, options in the qderb section are virtually unlimited. The three series of l-adrub in Example 56 carry the tbil performances just examined to their conclusion. The l-adrub in all three cases have certain features in common. They have the general unity of metric accompaniment discussed in Chapter 7. Each makes an excursion into the ashlhi 2 (l-m'akkel) fingering pattern and mode. One of the melodies (A18) is found in all three series, and the same qtaC (B18) is used in two of the performances. Nonetheless, differences between the series are more noticeable than the similarities. The shared melodies are few in comparison to the total number used. HOW (A) even inserts an astara into his series of l-adrub, an acceptable option, but one rarely taken (cf. Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 1). The order of melodies chosen is also very free. Melody A18, for example, often comes

Example 56. Divergence in three series of l-adrub

(A = RHOW 8.1; B = RM 1.1; C = RMZ 1.1).

The musical score consists of five staves, each representing a different series of l-adrub. The first staff is labeled 'A' and the second 'B'. The third staff is labeled 'C' and the fourth 'B'. The fifth staff is labeled 'A'. The score shows a series of notes and rests, with some notes marked with 'A' and 'B' to indicate the series. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and note values.

just before the qtaC and the end of performance, as it does in performances B and C; as the A performance itself shows, however, there can be a considerable amount of material between this melody and the qtaC. In short, by exercising their options of melodic selection, order, and repetition, the rwais make each performance of tbi and, particularly, l-adrub a unique and spontaneous musical event.

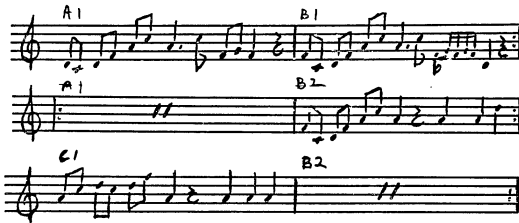
9.2 Improvisation: Variation

The rwais' improvisation is not limited to the manipulation of large blocks of fixed melodic material. The musicians also make changes within the body of the melody itself. Such changes do not usually alter a melody enough to obscure its basic identity, although, as we shall see, the perception of similarities and differences between melodies is often based on social, rather than musical, factors. In any event, the rwais do not extemporize new melodies in the manner of a Bach, Mozart, or Keith Jarrett. Rather, they resort to a "skillful rearrangement of clichés" (Malm 1975:57) in both their variation of standard melodies, and their creation of new ones.

The rwais vary individual melodies in much the same way as they vary other levels of performance. Individual melodies, in general have greater integrity than do the larger performance segments, or complete pieces; that is, they are more resistant to the fragmentation of their constituent parts. Nonetheless, some melodies can be varied by replacing one entire phrase with another. Thus, in Example 55, the initial motif in melody A1 is replaced by a variety of other motifs in A1b, B1b, and B3. A similar process is illustrated in Example 57. Here the

substitution takes place in two steps. First, the second phrase (B1) of the original melody is modified slightly both rhythmically and melodically. Then, after the variant (A1-B2) has been repeated, the first phrase of the original melody (A1) is replaced with a new phrase (C2), yielding a new melody (C1-B2).

Example 57. Dǧerb melody varied by phrase substitution (RHOW 7.5).



The transformation from one melody to the other was probably not the result of a sudden inspiration on the part of the group leader. The basic outlines of the three main phrases, A, B, and C, if not their exact realization, were undoubtedly in the repertory of the leader and his two accompanists. The two resulting melodies (A1-B1/2 and B2-C1) may well exist elsewhere independently of one another. That is certainly the case with other 1-adrub that are developed or transformed along the same lines. The substitution of one phrase for another is not, however, inevitable, nor is it necessarily premeditated. Recognizing the phrase relationship between one melody and another, a group leader in playing one may decide spontaneously to move to the other by using a shared phrase as a link rather than simply enchainning them as distinct entities.

In general, accompanists have no difficulty in following the leader through the switches from one melody to the next in tɓil or l-adrub, or through phrase substitutions of the sort just illustrated. When the time comes for a change, the leader simply comes in early and emphatically with the new melody before the band can continue to repeat the old one. In most cases, the other members of the group recognize the melody and pick it up within the first few notes, particularly in tɓil where the sequence of melodies is reasonably predictable. The first run-through of a new melody or phrase substitution may be a bit ragged if some of the sidemen have already begun to repeat the earlier melody, or if some mistake the new tune for another, or fail to catch on altogether. By the second run-through, the band has settled comfortably into the new melody.

The whole band never plays precisely the same thing, however, since the rwais' music is heterophonic in texture. Each member of the ensemble realizes a melody according to the idiomatic characteristics of his instrument and the idiosyncracies of his own technique and taste. Example 11 provided an illustration of this sort of idiomatic variation. Each musician also adds his own idiosyncratic variation of the melody, as a comparison of melodies A6 and B7, or A13 and C8 in Example 55 demonstrates.

The range of simultaneous, idiosyncratic variation can never be too great, however, lest heterophony devolve into cacophony. The rwais confine themselves, for the most part, to filling in long note values with several shorter notes (e.g., Example 55, A13), ornamenting certain pitches with neighbor tones (B8, A12), and sometimes inverting intervals

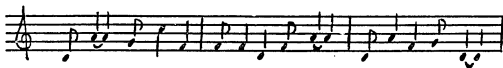
or substituting one neighbor tone for another (Example 58). The cumulative effect of these small changes can be great, but it is seldom enough to obscure the identity of a melody. As one young instrumental specialist explained when asked about the variety of melodies in different performances of t̃bil,

Well, you know, every rais plays a melody just a bit differently. He adds something here or he does something there until he comes out with some new nonsense (trobil jdid), but it's really all the same thing.

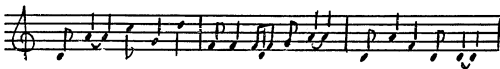
In ensemble play, individual variations are not only limited, they are generally masked by the blend of instruments and voices of the group as a whole. When a solo voice or instrument is brought to the fore, however, the variation becomes more noticeable. Example 58 illustrates, among other changes, the inversion of both conjunct and disjunct intervals in the first phrase of a vocal melody. Vocal variation, particularly in the cadential formula, may cue the chorus to join in, or signal a change to the tamsust (Example 59).

Example 58. The inversion of intervals in variants of a vocal melody (HOW 1.1).

a.

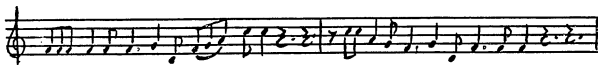


b.

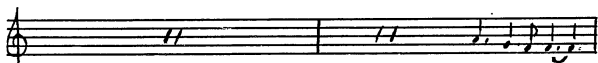


Example 59. Variation of the cadential formula in a vocal melody, used as a cue to the chorus (RV 2.3).

a.



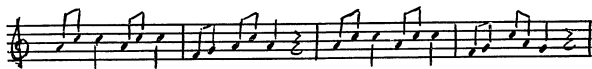
b.



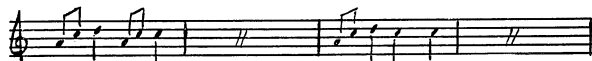
Solo passages for instruments also exist in measured melodies, particularly tbil. In most performances of tbil, at least one melody is divided into two or four sections, played alternately by the lead rribab and the rest of the ensemble. These melodies add textural variety to the performance, and give the rbaibi the opportunity to introduce whatever variations he wishes. The ensemble part remains generally stable (Example 60).

Example 60. Variation in rribab solo phrases of a tbil melody (RV 2.5.9).

a.

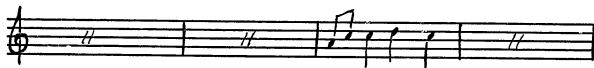


b.

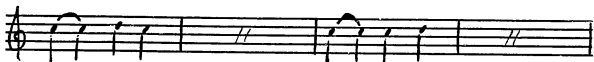


Example 60, continued

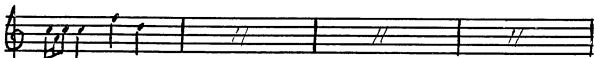
c.



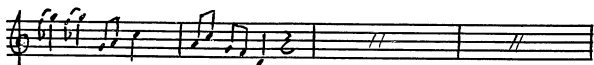
d.



e.



f.



Finally, rih-s also provide an opportunity for free instrumental variation around the finalis and internal cadence points. The rribab normally remains silent during solo vocal passages. The phrases of a vocal melody, particularly the last, tend to end on the first beat of the rhythm cycle. The lead singer may or may not choose to hold out the final note, but, in any case, there is little vocal activity during this cycle. The gap is filled with short motifs played by the lead rbaibi (who is often also the lead singer), or by the ensemble as a whole. In general, the rwais restrict themselves to one or two stereotypical motifs (which may also appear in other melodies), but the lead rbaibi

retains the option to introduce any appropriate motif or variation he chooses (Example 61).

Example 61. Instrumental variations in the final cycle of a vocal melody (from radio, 10/26/75; cf. HOW 2.5).

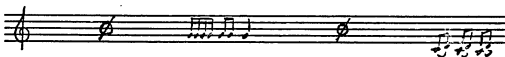
a.



b.



c.



d.



9.3 The Ownership of Melodies

Specific variations of instrumental melodies hold little interest for the rwais. Though older musicians take pride in their knowledge of obscure melodies from the ṭbil or ḍḍerb repertoires, they do not, as far as I was able to determine, conceal them from their colleagues. Instrumental melodies belong to anyone who can perform them. Furthermore, they shrug off even major variations in an instrumental melody as trobil jdid, "new nonsense" that every rais executes in the process of improvising a performance. Occasionally, a rais may take credit for having invented a ḍḍerb melody, but he would not try to prevent others from borrowing it.

The rwais have a markedly different attitude towards vocal melodies. A new riḥ may come to mind as quickly as do the variations in an instrumental performance, but I have also observed rwais spend several hours of concentrated, solitary effort working out possible versions of a vocal melody. The composer then tries out the new melody for and with a small group of trusted colleagues, who may give their approval or suggest revisions. Once satisfied with his new riḥ, a rais may then try to keep it a secret from other musicians, at least until he has established his claim to it by performing it (again with trusted sidemen) at a number of weddings, or, better yet, by getting it on a commercial recording or on tape at the radio. Even after a song has been released commercially, thus establishing the composer's title to the melody, a rais may try to prevent others from performing it. There are a number of reasons for the rwais' jealous protection of their vocal melodies.

Vocal melodies must "work" harder than instrumental melodies. That is, while a ṭbil melody may be repeated two to six times, and a ḍḍerb as many as twelve times, a riḥ is repeated twenty or thirty times, or even more if a rais is improvising lines of praise (tshajīCt) for every member of an audience. A riḥ must therefore be both comfortable to sing, and, at the same time, capable of sustaining audience interest over numerous repetitions. Finally, a good riḥ should ideally be distinct from other vocal melodies.

The creation of new melodies, or rather, a reputation for creativity, is essential to the rwais, both socially and economically. Most musicians willingly give credit to an earlier master (sheikh) for their knowledge of ṣniCt (lit.: craft, from the Arabic ṣinaCa), that is, general repertory, instrumental technique, and dance. As long as a musician repeats only music identified with other composers, however, he cannot achieve full status as a rais. The ability to find or create new melodies is central to the rwais' definition of themselves as musicians; as one of the most distinguished rwais explained:

Now, Arab musicians are not like us. Look at a record by Um Kaltum (the late Egyptian singer). It says, "Words by so-and-so, melody by so-and-so, orchestra under the direction of so-and-so." All that, just for one person to sing. But not us. With us, every rais should be able to do everything. Look, I pick up (i.e., play) the rribab myself. I make the words, and I make the melody. Do you think I am just a singer?

In reality, few rwais live up to the ideal of complete versatility; even this definition leaves out dance and dramatic ability, because the informant was not particularly accomplished at either. The best singers are often poor instrumentalists, the best lyricists poor singers, and so

on. Even so, they do try to master, as far as possible, all aspects of the profession, and even the least inspired musicians try to create or appropriate one or two melodies that become uniquely their own.

By creating or otherwise gaining ownership of melodies, a rais establishes an identity with fans of amarg. Mature rwais generally have at least one melody in their repertory that distinguishes them from other musicians. If this song has had some popular success, on radio or in commercial release, there is a demand for the composer's services among those who want to hear the song performed by its original interpreter. The most successful rwais--those who can command the highest fees--balance their performances with established "hits" and new material. The well-known songs attract a wide audience, while the new pieces appeal to aficionados, particularly members of the ait uhwash (ahwash specialists), who seek inspiration for their own poetry and music.

Finally, perhaps the greatest impetus toward new composition (and possessiveness) over the past thirty or forty years has come from the electronic media. Until the advent of cassettes spoiled the record market and the symbiotic relationship between record companies and the radio, a commercial release with airplay on the radio was the best way for a rais to gain a following. Both broadcasters and company executives stressed originality. HOW and other informants claimed, for example, that Mohamed Amzal, the artist and repertory director at Koutoubiaphone, was familiar with practically every recording of the rwais ever made, and would reject any vocal melody that had been used on a previous recording.

9.4 Composition: Borrowing

The criteria of originality and ownership do not require that a composer actually invent a melody; he can take credit simply for introducing a melody unknown to his audience. Thus, for a record producer, any melody that has not previously appeared on record is fair game. For a village audience, a melody not heard on radio or records, or included in the repertoires of surrounding villages, is new. Much new composition therefore takes the form of melodies imported into the rwais' repertory from remote villages, or even, as the following chapter will demonstrate, from other cultures. The musicians do not disdain this practice; quite the contrary, borrowing from village music is generally regarded as the most respectable form of composition. For the rwais, as for Old English poets or Yugoslav epic singers, recycling old material is "a badge of loyalty to inherited. . . traditions and values" (Fry 1977:7; cf. Lord 1960). As one top rais put it,

All the old rwais. . . used to go into the mountains collecting melodies. Hajj Belaid used to take (begging your pardon) a mule and go up there. Up there with the olive trees and the almonds and walnuts, in the clear mountain air. And the girls--the songs of the girls would come up from the river. That's where the music is. This generation just sits in the city. How can they expect to make good songs?

Although most rwais cited village music as the principle source of their own and others' compositions, documenting the procedure presented many problems. Pinpointing the geographical sources was not difficult, since the rwais claimed that they usually drew their inspiration for such borrowings from the music of their own native villages. Getting back to the village often presented serious, but not insurmountable

logistic problems. Once in the village, unearthing a specific melody in its original context would require phenomenal luck. If the melody came from an ahwash, one would need to find a feast, and then hope the desired melody were sung. If the melody were sung by a worker in the fields or orchards, chances of rediscovery would be even slimmer. Indeed, I was never able to trace a melody back to its origin, but I did have the good fortune to record an ahwash in Imi n Tanut which I later discovered to have been borrowed by a rais for use in a commercial recording.¹

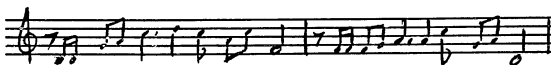
Example 62a shows an ahwash melody as performed at a wedding, while Example 62b illustrates the professional adaptation. The singer on the record is a rais (female singer) from the Haha tribe, some 100 kilometers distant from Imi n Tanut. Women (that is, raisat) do not compose, however, or at least are not given credit for composition. The composer in this case is Mohamed bn Lahcen ed-Demsiri, considered by many to be the greatest of contemporary rwais, from the tribe of Demsira (Inbensiren), adjacent to Imi n Tanut. The transfer of the melody from village to the professional repertory involves only minor changes. A slight shift in accent alters the time value of the initial and final notes in the professional version. Other than that, and the alteration of one or two pitches, the melodies are identical.

In their search for new material, the rwais borrow not only from village music, but from within their own repertory as well. Melodies that share the characteristics of both rih and qderb can move back and

¹ Since villagers also borrow from rwais, ascertaining the original can sometimes be a chicken-and-egg problem. In this case, however, villagers, and most rwais were unanimous in assigning precedence to the ahwash.

Example 62a. Ahwash melody

- b. Professional version of same melody (Raisa Faṭīma Tiḥīhite, L-Hubb d l-Hawa, 45 r.p.m. phonodisc, Koutoubiaphone KTP 1797).



forth between the two repertoires. Example 63, for instance, is a ḡḡerb melody that I recorded in 1975, and later heard on the radio used as the riḥ in a song recorded in the late 1940's or early 50's.

Example 63. Melody used originally as riḥ, and later as ḡḡerb (RM 1.2).

9.5 Composition: Twisting and Turning

In borrowing a melody, from within their own repertoire or from another tradition, the rwais are seldom content to take it over whole cloth. In order to make a melody truly his own, a composer generally modifies the original tune at various points. These changes are made

out of pride, based on the idea that the new melody is an improvement over the original, and also out of prudence, since living composers do not take kindly to the appropriation of their material. As one young musician explained the procedure,

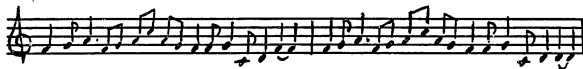
If you want to write a tune, just take an old song, or an ahwash, and in one corner (qent), you twist it a bit differently, and you have a new turn. That's what HMLD does: He listens to the radio, and when he hears an old song, he plays it on the rribab, and that changes it.

A melody has numerous "corners," including the initial and finalis of each phrase, and the high and low points of every motif. A number of rwais agreed that "twisting and turning the corners" was a very fruitful way of producing new melodies, but one older musician pointed out that "you can't do that with Hajj Belaid; you can't improve him." By changing the tonal or temporal values of a few strategic pitches, a technique used in composition classes in the West, the new composition emerges.

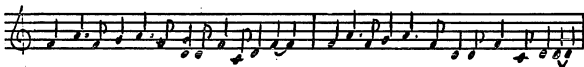
The process is illustrated in Example 64. Example 64a shows a common qderb melody. The rih (64b) based on this melody shows a number of departures, in both pitch and rhythm, from the source. The differences are partly a result of intentional change, and partly a result of idiomatic differences between instrumental and vocal melodies. Thus, the instrumental accompaniment (64c) to the rih bears much greater similarity to the original.

The modifications performed in the process of composition may take place on a grosser level as well. In producing a new melody, the rwais may manipulate entire phrases, as well as individual pitches or motifs, just as they do in improvisation. Example 65a again illustrates a frequently used qderb melody. The rih (65b) adapted from this melody simply

Example 64. "Twisting and Turning".

a. A ḡderb (RV 7.2).

b. A modified vocal version (RV 3.7).

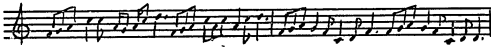
c. Instrumental accompaniment to rih (RV 3.7).

leaves out the first two phrases of the ḡderb, but is otherwise practically unchanged. Here again, however, the instrumental accompaniment, or, rather, the introduction, is closer to the original. In fact, in the introduction, the ensemble plays the melody exactly as it was performed as a ḡderb; after the opening of the song, however, the initial phrases are never heard again in either the vocal or the instrumental part.

In short, while the rwais regard the variation of instrumental melodies as nothing more than "new nonsense," having no effect on the identity of a melody, they often consider even minor modifications in a vocal melody to be a significant creative act. But just as the general perception of similarities and differences between melodies depends in

Example 65. Phrase manipulation

- a. A ḍḍerb (RV 2.5.9), also used as introduction to a song (RLUD 1.1).



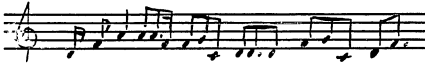
- b. Rih based on half the ḍḍerb melody (RLUD 1.1).



part on their use in the repertory (that is, whether they are instrumental or vocal), so the perception of similarities and differences between two vocal melodies may depend on the social relationship of their respective composers. On one occasion, I was about to record a group of young rwais. While the musicians warmed up, an older rais stood out in the courtyard talking. When he heard what they were preparing to play, he came into the room, visibly angered, and announced that if the performance were to be recorded, the young musicians could not use the melody they had chosen, because it was his. After some discussion among the group, they came up with the rih illustrated in Example 66a. The older rais expressed satisfaction with the new version, and left. Later, I asked them to record a few lines of the melody they had originally intended to use (Example 66b). The difference between the two melodies is minimal, yet the original composer considered the new version sufficiently distinct from his own to allow it to be recorded and, eventually, broadcast on the radio.

Example 66. Variant rih-s identified as different melodies.

a. RV 3.6.1



b. RV 3.6.1b

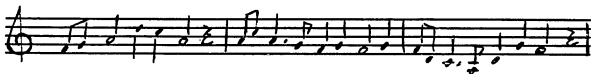


On another occasion, HOW was listening to a recording of another rais (RMA), when he launched into a diatribe about RMA's habit of "stealing" material from him. RMA later counter-charged that, in reality, HOW was the thief. Example 67 illustrates a melody by HOW, and then the version "stolen" by RMA. There are, indeed, certain similarities between the two melodies; both are divided into three phrases, and set to similar duple patterns. On the other hand, the two melodies are distinct from one another in their contours and cadence patterns. Since the two men came from neighboring tribes in the High Atlas, it is not unlikely that they both got their ideas from a third, village source, yet both musicians attributed bad faith to the other, claiming there was only one melody, and that he had written it.

In the first instance (Example 66), the older rais was willing to tolerate a relatively minor difference between his melody and its variant. The young musicians posed no threat to his reputation, even if they got their song on the air. Furthermore, he did not want to

Example 67. Different rih-s identified as being the same.

a. HOW 2.1



b. RMA 1.1



alienate them because he might someday need their services as cooperative, and inexpensive, sidemen. RMA and HOW, on the other hand, were rivals. HOW's senior by some ten years, RMA had a certain reputation, though he had never known HOW's success. Jealousy, professional rivalry, and perhaps other factors of which I am unaware, had kindled personal animosity between the two. This, in turn, led the musicians to perceive similarities between melodies, where perhaps none existed.

9.5 Original Composition

The examination of the processes of improvisation and composition thus far seems to indicate that there is nothing new under the rwais' sun. That is, while no two performances are ever alike, the component parts, underlying musical characteristics, and even specific melodies (with variations) are always the same. After prolonged exposure to the music, in recording and analyzing my collection, I sometimes felt that I must surely come full circle, to the point where every new recording would use melodies already collected.²

Since my collection never actually reached the saturation point, it was often impossible to tell whether a new addition was in fact genuinely new, or simply a representative of a type not yet discovered. Yet while the rwais' repertory comes close to being a closed, if fluid, system, there does seem to be some genuinely original and innovative composition going on. The difficulty in assessing the originality of a new composition is that most successful new melodies stay very much within the stylistic boundaries outlined in Chapters 7 and 8. At the same time, when influential composers--those who have won the esteem of their colleagues and a popular following outside the profession--create something new, the essential ideas, if not the entire composition, are quickly taken over by other rwais, and so become a part of the tradition. Thus, only a few radical departures from the tradition, such as those illustrated in the next chapter, can be clearly identified as innovations. General proof of the existence of new composition can, however, be seen in the examination of some unsuccessful new rih-s.

Example 68 provides one illustration of an unsuccessful rih. Though the melody was never released commercially, it failed in the eyes of the rwais when it was introduced at a recording session. The only real flaw in the melody lies in its internal cadence, on pitch 5 (C). The finalis of the melody as a whole falls on pitch 6 (D). A four-phrase melody may have an internal cadence on C and the finalis on D, but it is practically

2 In the course of a very fruitful discussion with a group of rwais in Rabat, one (RAA) informed me that he had determined that the entire repertory of the rwais includes only 32 melodies, with variations, of course. I was unable to track him down again after that evening, so I never learned his criteria of classification, nor yet recorded examples of the various melody types.

unheard of in a two-phase rih. The performers expressed their disapproval very succinctly and very effectively. The singer composer first sang the melody several times to the lead accompanist, who then coached the rest of the ensemble and the raisat who provided the chorus. In the recorded performance, as is customary, the lead singer first sang both phrases of the melody, and then split the melody for the rest of the performance, with the raisat taking the first phrase as a refrain, and the leader singing the text to the second.

Example 68. An unsuccessful rih (RMZ 1.3).



When the raisat sang the first phrase of the melody, they automatically corrected it, by ending the phrase on pitch 6 rather than pitch 5. Melodies with both phrases ending on pitch 6 do not appear frequently in the repertory, but they are more common, and more acceptable, than the 5-6 pattern. The chief accompanist stopped the performance midway through the first take, and again coached the raisat. But by the second repetition of the melody in the second take, the raisat had reasserted their own will, and the band had no choice but to bring their accompaniment into line with the singers.

Who actually made the mistake in this case, the raisat or the composer? In the immediate context of the recording, the raisat clearly were at fault. The ensemble proved that the melody could be performed according to the wishes of the composer, however awkward the melody might

seem to them. But the raisat, with less musical experience and sophistication, could not comfortably reproduce the unfamiliar cadence for long without lapsing into a more customary and comfortable pattern.

In more general terms, however, the fault lay with the composer (RMZ). RMZ was an amateur rais, and, at the time, a novice composer. He had grown up in the High Atlas, and his father was a village poet, so he had a good knowledge of the music of the Ishlhin. Dreams of stardom led him to try his hand at performance as a rais. He might eventually have made it had he been willing to give up his higher status position as a self-employed public stenographer, and devote all his energies to music. He was well received at the radio station in Rabat, perhaps because he had some secondary education, making him, like the radio bureaucrats themselves, far better educated than the average rais. For the most part, the rwais who heard his music maintained that RMZ's melodies were adequate if uninspired, although a few expressed the opinion that RMZ's literacy had an adverse effect on his poetry. As one experienced poet told me, "He has to sit down and write that stuff, and then he reads it when he sings. I can do better than that just by opening my mouth."

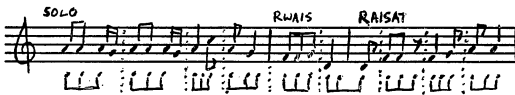
While most of RMZ's melodies were acceptable, the one illustrated in Example 68 clearly was not. Under normal circumstances, the accompanists would have suggested an alternate cadence to the first phrase, or some other change to bring the melody up to standard. In this case, however, they were employees, not colleagues, of the singer. Furthermore, as a stenographer, he could be, and was, useful to them on other occasions, so they acquiesced to his wishes. The raisat, on the other hand,

were unable to make the general, stylistic mistake (i.e., the cadence on 5) on purpose, so they made a specific "mistake" (the cadence on 6) out of habit.

I was never able to ascertain whether the improper cadence was an intentional innovation, as RMZ claimed, or merely a sign of his lack of complete mastery of the style. The latter explanation seems the most likely, since the melody is otherwise perfectly compatible with other melodies in the collection. A year after his first attempts at recording, RMZ reappeared with a new batch of songs, most of which showed improvement over his earlier efforts. One of the batch (Example 69) was proclaimed by the composer to be experimental and innovative. This time the structure of the melody in question confirmed that his departure from the norm was intentional and not accidental, but the results were no more satisfying or successful than his earlier experiment. The melody is divided into three phrases, for soloist, male chorus, and female chorus (raisat). As far as I know, this use of a soloist and two choruses is unique among the rwais, although a similar division of labor is sometimes found in lmsaq, a form of village music in Ayt Mgun (Lortat-Jacob 1973:III, 4). In lmsaq, however, the soloist and both choruses sing the same melody all the way through, while in this case, a single repetition of the melody is divided into three unequal parts. The melody in Example 69 is nine rhythm cycles in length, divided roughly into phrases of four, two, and three cycles, for the soloist, male, and female choruses respectively. The length of the melody is unusual enough in itself, and the division of phrases is extremely awkward. The group had rehearsed in advance for this recording, so the singers made no mistakes, but the

performance, particularly that of the male chorus, was nonetheless tentative and restrained. Judging from the performance, it seemed unlikely that this melody would catch on with the rwais, or provoke further experimentation along the same lines.

Example 69. An experimental rih (RMZ 3.5).



9.6 Summary and Conclusions: Creation Collective

In sum, we have seen that the rwais' repertory is not a collection of fixed pieces, but rather a collection of ideas. Each musician learns a number of melodies of different types, which are appropriate for the various sections of performance. Within each section, a rais can string these melodies together as he chooses, with few restrictions. Furthermore, no melody is sacrosanct. In adopting a melody for his own use, a rais may make many small modifications in pitch and time; he may even break up melodies into their constituent parts--phrases and motifs--and then recombine them in a new creation. Beneath all these surface changes, however, the underlying elements of the music--rhythm, mode, and structure--remain constant.

The music of the rwais therefore qualifies as what Constantin Brailoiu terms création collective (1973:142). The basic elements of the repertory, as well as many complete melodies, belong equally to all rwais, and, indeed, to all Ishlhin, since there is constant interchange between the village and professional repertoires. Individual musicians

may stand out for their ability to recombine old patterns in new ways, or, more rarely, for their creation of new patterns. But the resulting compositions are, on the one hand, the summation, in a sense, of the efforts of the composer's predecessors, and, on the other hand, a contribution to the efforts of his successors. If a rais creates a new melody, or appropriates a variation of an old one, he can claim credit for and exclusive rights to the use of that melody at most for the duration of his career. From the moment a new melody appears, others may begin to work variations upon it. When the composer retires, or his popularity declines, the melody itself passes into the public domain. The composer will be remembered for a time, but eventually, even in this day of electronic preservation of sound, his authorship may be forgotten, and his composition will return to the public domain.³

Musical creation among the Ishlḥin is also collective in the sense that a new melody can survive only by the consensus of other musicians. We have seen two examples of what can happen to an innovation that does not meet the approval of a group of performers. In one case the melody was modified out of hand; in the other, the melody remained unchanged, but the performance was destroyed by a lack of enthusiasm. In more normal circumstances, however, this dilemma would not have arisen. A true professional (which the composer of these defective melodies was not) would not impose a melody on his colleagues. Rather, new melodies are generally tested in practice sessions, and if the musicians detect any flaws, they suggest alternate solutions to the problem. The altered

³ Specific examples of the transfer of ownership over time will be examined in the following chapter.

melodies in Example 42 and Example 66 were the result of such joint efforts. This, then, is genuine collective composition.

The consensus and collective effort of the rwais ensures that any innovation from inside their tradition will conform to the common style of the Ishlḥin. Yet, as their instrumentarium shows, the rwais have always been susceptible to influences from outside the tashlḥit-speaking region. They have good reasons--economic and political, as well as musical--for incorporating elements of other musics into their repertory. The effects of acculturation, on the rwais and their music, will be the subject of the next, and final, chapter.

CHAPTER 10
ACCULTURATION: THE TRANSGRESSION OF LIMITS

The basic elements of the rwais' music are rooted in a tradition shared by all Ishlḥin. At the same time, however, the total range of the rwais' style is not found in any one village. Each tribe, and, indeed, each village in the tashlḥit-speaking region, has its own particular variant of the general style, just as each village has its own variant of tashlḥit. The rwais' repertory, on the other hand, is an amalgam of various village styles: instrumental melodies (astara and l-adrub) from the Ḥaḥa tribe, and vocal melodies from all over the High Atlas and Sus. Thus, in the process of becoming a rais, a villager must, in a sense, become acculturated, by adapting himself to a musical style outside his own local tradition. Furthermore, while village musicians have proved relatively immune to artistic influence from outside the tashlḥit-speaking region, the rwais have been susceptible to acculturation on a broader scale, and have even made a virtue of it. The rribab and lotar, for example, reflect past influence of other cultures, Arab and West African respectively.

The process of acculturation has continued, intermittently, throughout this century. In their travels through northern Morocco and Europe, the rwais are exposed to a wide variety of other styles of music. The need to innovate within the tradition, and the desire to bring back "news" from afar (musical as well as verbal) have led the rwais to borrow various elements from some of these foreign styles. The borrowings have had the additional effect of making their music more comprehensible to non-Ishlḥin, thus helping the rwais to expand their audience.

As long as the rwais change only one or two elements of their music at a time, they make no clean break with their traditional style. The outside influence may be easily recognizable, but the overall style remains that of the rwais. Indeed, if the borrowed elements are sufficiently compatible with the rwais' own music, they may be taken over as a permanent part of the repertory. Such changes might be termed the "legitimate transgression of limits" (Bourdieu 1977:124). The first section of this chapter will examine several "legitimate" borrowings from other styles, including bugle calls, Andalusian music, and Arab folk music.

In order to reach an audience of non-Ishlḥin, the rwais sometimes imitate every aspect of another music, rather than culling a few elements for incorporation in their own style. Examples of this sort of extreme acculturation will demonstrate that when the rwais overstep the boundaries of their style in too many places, they cease, in effect, to be rwais. Finally, an example of acculturation from another direction--in which the music of the rwais is borrowed by young, educated urban musicians--will serve as the basis for speculation on the rwais' future.

10.1 The Legitimate Transgression of Limits

Bugle Calls. The rwais often include military barracks on their itineraries of travel through northern Morocco. For many Ishlḥin, enlistment in the army--French, Spanish, or Moroccan--has been a means of gaining a steady, if not entirely secure, job, and thus escaping the poverty of their home villages. The soldiers are not rich, but they do provide a receptive, not to say captive, audience for the rwais.

During a tour of Spanish and French colonial army bases in the 1920's, Rais Sasbo, a contemporary of Hajj Belaid, got the idea of incorporating some of the bugle calls he had heard into his repertory (Chottin 1933:55). He gathered a number of tunes and put them together, interspersed with what are probably melodies from the Andalusian repertory (see below), in the form of a tbil. Sasbo taught the tbil to the members of his group, including one of his apprentices, named Moulay Ali. Moulay Ali, then in his teens, later struck out on his own, and eventually became one of the most influential rwais of his generation. Virtually all of the top rwais today, and, indeed, most of the generation of professional musicians now in their 40's, passed through Moulay Ali's band at one time or another. Having learned the bugle call tbil from Rais Sasbo, Moulay Ali passed it on to his own apprentices. As a result, the piece is now generally known as Moulay Ali's tbil.

One can only guess at Sasbo's motives for taking over these bugle calls. They may simply have appealed to him or satisfied his desire to bring something new into the repertory.¹ But in order for the music to remain there, it must have met with favorable response from various segments of his audience, perhaps for very different reasons. The soldiers themselves may well have looked on the music as a parody of their daily routine, regimentation turned to entertainment. For villagers, performance of the military tbil may have seemed like news of soldier-relatives stationed far away, and also a way of co-opting a symbol of foreign

¹ In 1973-74, the Laotian musician, Thao Phet Sananikone, taught khene and other Lao instruments at the University of Washington. Among the pieces he taught was one known as Farang ("Foreigner"), based on French military marches. The mission civilisatrice has thus had at least some demonstrable success at opposite ends of the world.

domination that was felt all too close to home.² Significantly, Sasbo claimed that one of the bugle calls he borrowed was a signal for retreat (Chottin 1933:55).

As Omar Amarir has pointed out (1975:96), Moulay Ali and many other rwais preached resistance to the French in their poetry. Nonetheless, both Moulay Ali and Sasbo had patrons in the Service des Arts Indigènes, the cultural arm of French colonial policy. The use of bugle calls in a tbil must have pleased the colonial authorities, who sought to strike an alliance with Berbers against the dominant Arab population. Chottin, at least, found the music of sufficient interest to arrange for its publication on record (Odeon 203.034A). Even today, the music produces a visible reaction in European audiences. One popular rais, for example, never fails to play Moulay Ali's tbil when performing for Europeans. The audience reacts first with quizzical looks, as though the members recognize something without being sure what it is. When the musicians reach melody 9 (Example 70), the audience breaks out in broad smiles, accompanied by chuckles, as the source of the music becomes unmistakable. The reaction may be patronizing, but for the musicians it is preferable to the blank stares that meet much of their performance before foreign audiences. Playing familiar music also seems to have the effect of opening the audience's pocketbooks a bit wider, with tangible benefits for the musicians.

2 Military music per se did not always receive a favorable response. In the 1920's, while the Ishlhin were still resisting the French invasion, an emigrant worker brought a record player from Casablanca to the town of Taroudannt in the Sus vailey. At that time, no one in the town had ever seen or heard of such a machine. The only records then available were of military music. When the man's neighbors heard the music--not knowing how it was made--the reported the incident to the Pasha, who arrested the man for having smuggled foreign troops into town (Ahmed Najmi, personal communication).

Example 70. Moulay Ali's Tbil (RHOW 4.2).

The musical score for Moulay Ali's Tbil (RHOW 4.2) is presented across 11 staves. The notation is primarily in treble clef. The first three staves are in 2/4 time, featuring a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fourth staff is a short melodic phrase. The fifth staff is in 3/4 time. The sixth staff is in 2/4 time. The seventh staff is in 3/4 time. The eighth staff is in 2/4 time. The ninth staff is in 3/4 time. The tenth staff is in 2/4 time. The eleventh staff is in 3/4 time. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. There are also some markings like 'CANTO #32', 'CANTO #33', and 'CANTO #34'.

Moulay Ali's tbil could not have survived fifty years in the repertory without being compatible with the rwais' musical tradition. Bugle calls use three or four pitches that can be fitted into an anhemitonic pentatonic modal system; the melodies--at least in the rwais' versions--end on pitches 1, 2 or 6 of the scale. The straightforward duple meter found in most of the melodies, as well as the length and structure of most phrases, are also consistent with the rwais' traditional style. Certain melodies, while conforming to the general limits of the music of the Ishlhin, violate the specific rules of the tbil form: melody 11, for example, is in compound duple, while melody 14 goes into the ashlhi 2/1-m'akke1 mode; such rhythmic and melodic modulations would be expected in 1-adrub, not tbil. The melodies depart from the rwais' style in other ways as well. The dominant rhythmic figure is not a traditional element in the rwais repertory, although it has been taken over as a decorative figure to emphasize the cadence points of a phrase (cf. Example 61b). The countour, for the most part, is step-like, rather than sinuous. Certain melodies (e.g. 9 and 10) make more use of disjunct intervals than do normal Berber melodies. Both of these aspects of contour are emphasized by the consistent staccato attack used in the military tbil. Despite these differences, however, there is nothing in the bugle calls that is entirely alien or inimical to the rwais' traditional style. The overall organization of a military tbil also conforms to the rwais tradition. The progression of melodies is more predictable than in more traditional tbil-s, but each performance is nonetheless unique, as the rwais continue to exercise their options in the selection, repetition, and variation of melodies.

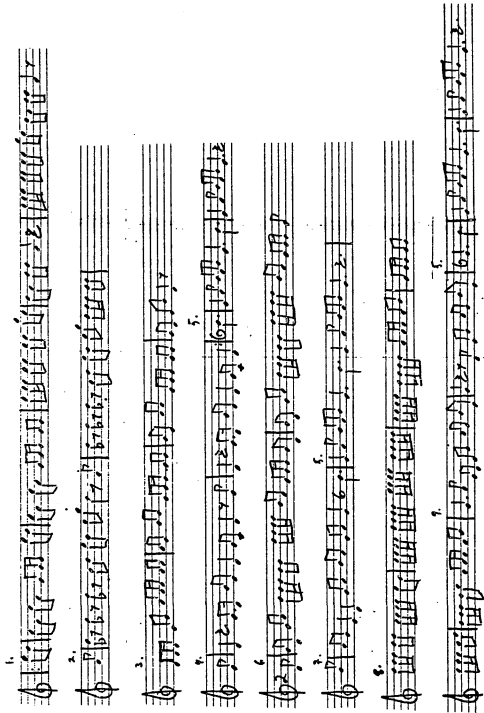
Both Chottin (1933:55) and Essyad (1967:258) point out that the rwais' versions of bugle calls have "deformed" the original melodies, replacing the intervals of a perfect fourth (A-D), major third (D-F#), and major sixth (A-F#) on the bugle with a perfect fifth (G-D), minor third (D-F), and minor seventh (G-F) on the rribab. Chottin was not, however, able to identify the exact bugle calls the rwais had borrowed. According to Sasbo, one of these (melody 4 in Example 70, melody 32, p. 67, in Chottin's transcriptions) was a signal to retreat. Another pair of melodies (9 and 10 in Example 70, 33 and 34 in Chottin) were identified simply as having been used by the French army at Casablanca. Chottin also believed the melodies to be incomplete, thus making the discovery of their origin difficult, if not impossible.

Tracking down the original bugle calls poses still more problems today. Louis Soret, a French teacher and musician residing in Marrakech, pointed out that most bugle calls were changed after every war, and that each branch of the military--infantry, cavalry, and so on--had its own calls. Although he had led a French military band in Madagascar, Soret was unable to identify any of the rwais' adaptations. The rwais themselves were unable to provide any clues. In any event, over time they have further "deformed" the melodies to suit their own purposes, as a comparison of Chottin's transcriptions with my own should demonstrate. Despite these changes, however, an old bugler from the Moroccan army, a rural Arab now a real estate agent in Marrakech, was able to identify two of the melodies (9 and 11) as marsha (i.e., marche) and ras el ma (i.e., rassemblement).

Andalusian Music. The rwais' repertory includes ṭbil -s made up entirely or in part of Andalusian melodies. At first glance, the rwais' use of Andalusian music seems ironic. The tradition, based on Arabo-Persian theory, developed originally in the Muslim courts of medieval Spain. Although Andalusian music is today the semi-official music of the Moroccan state,³ it is also strongly associated with the mercantile elite of Fes, the principal rivals of the Ishḷḥin in trade. The rwais, however, did not borrow the Andalusian melodies in their repertory from the performance of the standard bourgeois orchestra, made up primarily of violins and Cud-s, but rather from the Moroccan military bands that play a modified version of the Andalusian repertory. Those army bands, and their music, are known as khamsa u khamsin ("fifty-five") from the product of eleven times five, the number of melodic and rhythmic modes respectively in the Andalusian music.

The military band tradition, unlike the Andalusian string orchestras, remains the exclusive property of the royal court. Khamsa u khamsin neatly symbolizes two mainstays of the present dynasty: tradition and military force. This explains both the rwais' use of Andalusian melodies, and their mixture in some performances with bugle calls. One older rais pointed out that khamsa u khamsin was originally used specifically to accompany the King during his processions on horseback. He maintained, further, that the rwais had first learned the melodies in order to join in these processions as a sign of the allegiance (often no more than symbolic) of the Ishḷḥin to the dynasty. Although the present King

³ Andalusian music is the chief subject taught at state-supported conservatories, and its performance is practically obligatory on state occasions, such as Independence Day.

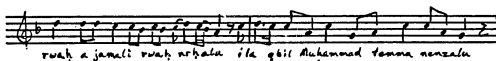
Example 71. Tbil khamisa u khamisin (RV 4.1).

summons the rwais to one of his palaces for an evening's entertainment, such musical tribute as khamsa u khamsin is no longer strictly necessary. With improvements in transportation over the past fifty years, the King need not be content with a troupe of rwais to accompany his procession, when he can arrange for entire village ahwash troupes to line his route. Nonetheless, khamsa u khamsin has remained in the repertory of at least a few rwais.

Most of the melodies in Example 71, like those in Example 70 are compatible with the rwais' own style. Indeed, melodies 1, 2, and 3 are transpositions (from ashlhi to agnaw) of melodies 5, 4, and 7 in Example 70--further proof that these acculturated tbil-s are put together in traditional fashion. Melody 8 of Example 71, however, is of particular interest. It is the closest approximation yet seen in this work to a true diatonic melody. The scale used is A B C# D E G#. In Example 36 (p.194), both B and C# were used in the same melody, but they appeared in different phrases, thus presenting no particular problem for the fingering of the rribab. Melody 8 in Example 71, however, begins to stretch the limits of the rwais style, since it calls for both the raised and lowered first finger position (i.e., B and C#) to be used in the same phrase. In fact, in the recording (RV 4.1), the rbaibi, who was not terribly familiar with the tbil to begin with, drops out at this point. Nevertheless, the melody does not call for extraordinary virtuosity, and in any case, it is only a brief departure from standard fingering patterns and melodic form.

Example 72 provides another illustration of borrowing from Arabic, probably Andalusian music. HOW claimed the melody was part of the

Example 72. Andalusian melody with Arabic text (HOW 3.1).



repertory of khamisa u khamsin, and, in fact, he used melodies 7 and 8 (Example 70) as interludes between repetitions of the main melody. Example 72, like melody 8 of Example 71, uses a diatonic scale, in this case G A Bb C D, requiring the use of both the raised and lowered first finger positions of the rribab. Again the fingering is not particularly difficult, because the two first finger positions (A and Bb) are used in succession only once, and that in a downward slide; in other cases, the melody moves from Bb to A through another pitch of the scale.

Example 72 is more remarkable for another feature--the use of an Arabic text. Like Example 31 bis in Chottin (1933:66), the content of the text is religious:

Go, o my beauty; go, let us travel (to Mecca).

If Mohamed accepts (us), there we shall settle.

Although the text is religious, the combination of this melody with military music suggests, as does HOW's own testimony, that the song was borrowed for political, as much as spiritual purposes. Islam is the state religion in Morocco, and the King is the amir al-mu'minin, the Commander of the Faithful. Indeed, the Ishlḥin and other Berber groups have traditionally been more willing to recognize the King's spiritual guidance than they have been to yield to his temporal authority. A song such as the one in Example 72 would have permitted the rwais, as musical

representatives of the Ishlḥin, to pledge allegiance to the dynasty on one level, without specifically yielding their independence on another.

Arab Folk Music. Melodies from European and Andalusian military music have been in the rwais' repertory for at least fifty years. Recent experimentation has tended to draw more from Moroccan folk and popular traditions. Some of these borrowings have been designed to broaden the rwais' audience among both Arabs and the younger generation of urbanized Ishlḥin, while making only minimal changes in the rwais' traditional style. The substitution of the Cud or violin for the rribab and lotar, mentioned in Chapter 6 of this section, is such a change. The borrowed instruments give the ensemble the timbral quality of an Arab folk or popular band; the basic elements of the music, and the language of the text, remain traditionally Berber, however.

In similar fashion, the rwais may change the language of the text, while keeping the instrumentation and melodic style according to tradition. The substitution of certain Arabic words for tashlḥit terms has long been a part of the rwais' style⁴. Some Arabic words fit the meter of a poem better than their tashlḥit equivalents; the Arabic word for "love" (l-hubb), for example, often replaces the longer Berber word (tayiri). Arabic words may also be used to overcome problems of understanding arising from local dialect differences in tashlḥit. Finally,

4 Some rwais even mix in a few words of pidgin French along with stock formulae of tashlḥit poetry:

Avec toi je parles, a yan ishwan
Si tu venu d'accord, alors, ruwwah anmun.

(HMLD and MBNS)
I am talking to you, o one who is good.
If you come along, okay, then let's go together.

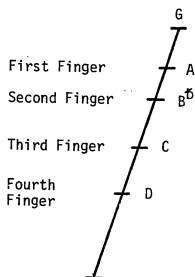
Arabic words and phrases, including quotations from the Qur'an (Galand-Pernet 1972:202), may be used as a display of erudition or sophistication. Such limited uses of Arabic are directed primarily at the tashlhit-speaking audience. I have, however, observed cabaret performances in which an entire song text was sung in dialectical Arabic. The purpose, as one of the musicians explained, was to give the Arabic-speakers in the audience something that they could understand, to listen to while they watched the dancers.

In a few instances, outside influence has affected the basic elements of the rwais' style, melody, rhythm, and form. El-Hajj Mohamed ben Lahsen ed-Demsiri, for example, introduces one of his records ("l-qalam d-l-kursi", Koutoubiaphone KTP 1678) with an astara that starts out in the Arabic mode bayati. The use of the bayati, or rather, its lower pentachord, marks a real departure from traditional modes and fingering patterns on the rribab. In order to reproduce the scale form --- (G) A B \flat C D--- on the rribab, all four fingers must be bunched up, covering only the range of a fifth, instead of the usual range of an octave (Table 26); simply shifting the first finger is not sufficient in this case, since the melody moves quickly and frequently between what would be, in other cases, the upper and lower positions of the first finger. Despite the difficulty--or perhaps because of it--imitations of ed-Demsiri's astara in bayati have become popular among rribab players seeking a reputation for their instrumental virtuosity (Example 73).

The bayati astara seems to be designed primarily to impress other rwais, and perhaps the Berber audience as well, with the musician's

TABLE 26
Rriabab Tablature in Bayati

(G) A B^b C D



Example 73. An astara using bayati in its opening phrases (A), then returning to ashlhi (B) (RV 2.3; Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 3).



sophistication and technical ability. The passage is clearly not directed at an Arab audience, since it amounts to nothing more than a brief episode at the beginning of the piece. After a few seconds in bayati, the rbaibi shifts the tonal center to D (Example 73b) and returns to the normal ashlhi fingering, where he remains for the rest of the piece. Reproducing the lower pentachord of a diatonic mode on the rribab is a tour de force, but continuing on to reproduce the upper tetrachord is almost an impossibility; if the rbaibi keeps his left thumb in the thumb-loop, he cannot stretch his fingers up to reach the proper pitches; but if he takes his thumb out, then he has difficulty supporting the instrument. Thus the rribab itself imposes limits on the extent of acculturation in the rwais' music.

In sum, the rwais can step beyond the confines of their tradition in a number of directions. They can borrow instruments from other musical cultures; indeed, their own instrumentarium was originally drawn from Arab and West African, not Berber, sources. The rwais can construct entire pieces (tibil-s) out of melodies taken from other musical traditions, as long as the melodies conform to the general melodic and rhythmic patterns found in the traditional music of the rwais. At times in borrowing a melody from another culture, the rwais can even violate, though only briefly, the most basic principles of their style, by replacing, for example, their usual pentatonic melodies with melodies based on diatonic scales. Finally, the rwais may even forsake their native language, in general terms their strongest feature of cultural identity, to sing an entire song in Arabic.

In the examples of acculturation thus far examined, the rwais have violated only one, or at most two, canons of style at one time. That is, when the rwais borrow Arabic instruments for a recorded performance, the melody played on those instruments conforms to the traditional style of the rwais, and the song text is in tashlhit. Similarly, when the rwais borrow modes or melodies from other musical traditions, they use rribab and lotar to perform the borrowed melodies. Finally, when they sing in Arabic, the rwais again accompany themselves on the rribab and lotar, and set the text to traditional melodies in the style of the Ishlhin.

By changing one or two aspects of their music at a time, the musicians are able to bring information about the outside world, in the form of music, to the mountain villages of the tashlhit speaking region, and, at the same time, they are able to make their music more comprehensible to audiences of Arabs and Europeans. In both cases, they are fulfilling their function as intermediaries, between different groups of Ishlhin, and between Ishlhin and non-Ishlhin. As long as the rwais continue to sing primarily in tashlhit, and use predominantly pentatonic melodies, and, above all, as long as they continue to use the rribab, then any music they perform becomes their own.

10.2 Overstepping the Bounds

The rwais do not always confine themselves to borrowing a few isolated elements of other musics to incorporate in their own style. In fact, at times the rwais abandon their traditional style completely in favor of other varieties of music. The motive for this shift is

primarily economic. Even in cities with large concentrations of emigrant Ishlḥin, the rwais often have difficulty finding work entertaining their own people. Many of them end up performing on a mixed bill with Arab or Middle Atlas Berber musicians, in cabarets, tourist restaurants, and private parties. Working in these situations, some rwais have acquired a taste for and an understanding of different musical styles. More to the point, they have realized that by gaining competence in other styles, they could diversify their offering, and so broaden their prospects for employment.

Example 74 illustrates a Middle Atlas melody as performed by a group of rwais. The melody alone represents a complete departure from the rwais' traditional style. Not only is the mode diatonic, but the entire melody falls within an ambitus of a fourth (D-G). Furthermore, only one phrase, the last, completely spans that range; most phrases have a range of a third, and one, the fifth phrase, covers only a second. Unlike the rolling or jagged contours of the melodies of the Ishlḥin, the contour of this Middle Atlas melody tends to hover around a single pitch, falling off toward the end of each phrase. The entire melody has only two disjunct intervals, an ascending fourth between phrases 2 and 3, and a descending major third in the final cadence. The overall pattern of organization, with the division of the melody into seven phrases, might be found in some composite instrumental melodies in the rwais' repertory, but never in their vocal melodies. Finally, while duple meters appear with some frequency in the rwais' music, the specific metric realization of the melody in Example 74 is not used traditionally by the Ishlḥin. In all, the only point of

musical similarity between the music of the rwais and this Middle Atlas song is the use of responsorial singing between leader and chorus.

Example 74. A Middle Atlas melody performed by the rwais (RB 1.1).



The transcription of the Middle Atlas song reveals only the musical aspects of the difference between this performance and a traditional performance by the rwais. The musical changes are accompanied by other changes that may be even more significant. The language of the song is tamazight, the dialect of the Middle Atlas Berbers, only partially comprehensible to the Ishlḥin. The instruments in this performance include the loṭar (tuned in fourths rather than fifths), the Cud, and a variety of drums, including the bendir (=tallunt, the round frame drum) and the tCarija, a small (10-20 cm long), single-headed pottery drum favored by female singers (sheikhat) from the Middle Atlas and the Atlantic plains. In other performances, the violin may be used, alone or in place of one of the other chordophones. The rribab would never be used in such a performance; the instrument could be retuned in such a way that the melody could be produced with few difficulties, but the rribab is much too closely associated with the rwais (who are the only musicians to use it) for it to be included in a performance of Arab or Middle Atlas music.

After listening to the recording of this example, an informant from the High Atlas identified the performers as shiakh, not rwais. Had he seen the musicians in person, he still might not have recognized them. To complete the change in musical style, musicians, and, particularly, female singer-dancers, often change their performing clothes as well. If, for example, a group of musicians is offering mixed entertainment, with performances of amarg, Caita (rural Arab music), and izlan (Middle Atlas popular music), the men may remove their turbans and decorative daggers between sets to mark visually the change between amarg and the other musics. The female singers (raisat/sheikhat) inevitably remove the white overskirt (lizar) and tassled scarf (tasebnit) that distinguish the formal dress of High Atlas women.

The purpose of imitating other styles is not to enrich the corpus of tashlhit music, but to enrich, however slightly, the musicians themselves. When the rwais return to their own music, they change their clothes again, pick up the rribab and lotar, sing songs in tashlhit set to melodies that conform to their traditional style. Bi-musicality affects the musicians, but it has little impact on their own music. The rwais bring little back from their forays into other styles, save the occasional adoption of an Arab instrument, and the use of female singers and dancers.

In sum, any single aspect of the rwais' music can be changed without affecting the identity of the style. But when too many elements are changed simultaneously, the music is no longer recognizable. The performers, as professional musicians, can adopt whatever musical style they choose; their acculturation has no real limits other than their

individual abilities. But in expanding their own horizons, they cease, at least temporarily, to be rwais.

10.3 The Future

As of 1977, only a few groups of rwais were completely bi-musical, and most of those maintained that they preferred to play amarg when they had the chance. The rwais are in danger of losing their audience, however, and increasing numbers of musicians may be forced into playing other kinds of music in order to make a living. The rwais' wealthiest and most devoted audience, the early generations of urbanized Ishlḥin with strong ties to the mountains, is growing older. As more and more emigrants settle permanently in the city, and raise their children there, the taste of the younger generation is changing. Young, city-bred Ishlḥin, having grown up in an Arabic (or French or Dutch) speaking environment, are often indistinguishable from other city youth. Many members of this generation are more comfortable speaking Arabic or French than tashlhit; some urbanized Ishlḥin of my acquaintance know no more than common household expressions, and others cannot communicate at all with their own grandparents. Their taste in music, like that of their Arab counterparts, runs from western rock groups, to Egyptian popular singers, to Moroccan folk revival groups (cf. Schuyler 1973); they seldom listen to the rwais, since the music seems outmoded, and they may understand little of the poetry.

Recognizing the decline of tashlhit language and culture in the urban environment, a small group of Berber intellectuals, as early as the late 1960's, began to look for ways to encourage the preservation

of tashlhit music and poetry. To express their ideas, the group founded the Society for Research and Cultural Exchange in Rabat which, among other projects, financed the publication of Omar Amarir's two books (1975 and 1978) on tashlhit poetry. They also provided financial backing and moral support for a group of six musicians, five Ishlḥin and one Arab, who later came to be known as Ousmane (usman = lightning). The members of the Society preferred to start this new group, rather than promoting the rwais, for several reasons. First, they felt that the music of the rwais, in its present state, was moribund. Secondly, they wanted to spread their message not only among young Ishlḥin, but Arabs and Europeans as well, and they believed that, in order to succeed, they had to cast the tradition in a more contemporary mold. Finally, the Society wanted to demonstrate the cultural unity of the diverse groups of Moroccan Berbers (from the High Atlas, Middle Atlas, and Rif Mountains), and the rwais' music seemed too parochial for that purpose (Omar Amarir, personal communication; cf. Amarir 1978:124).

True to the intentions of their backers, the members of Ousmane have put the old wine of Berber music into some very new bottles. Most of the musicians have had some conservatory training, including western music theory. The group's instrumentation is almost entirely western, including acoustic and electric guitars, electric organ, trap drums, conga drums, violin, and occasionally, accordion. Both the musicians and their backers reasoned that this instrumentation would have more appeal to urban youth, both Ishlḥin and non-Ishlḥin, Moroccan and European, than do the rribab and lotar. The choice of instruments is also congruent with their desire to represent the music of Berber

groups other than the Ishlḥin. The guitar and other instruments are "neutral"; they do not limit the musicians to a single regional style as would the rribab⁵.

The music and poetry of Ousmane, on the other hand, is very much in the tradition of amarg and ahwash. Example 75 is taken from the group's first commercial release. Certain aspects of the arrangement-- such as the use of separate melodies for voice and violin solo-- are innovative, but the melodies themselves are perfectly consistent with the rwais' traditional style, in terms of mode, meter, contour, and the binary organization of phrases. Their poetry, too, makes no radical departures from the style of village musicians or rwais. Even song texts composed by the group's university-educated backers recycle old images, like that of the hawk soaring above a cliff, a letter borne on the wind, or a dying flower. In some cases, Ousmane has actually taken over old songs from the rwais or village musicians, word for word, and note for note (Amarir 1978:124-27).

The members of Ousmane do not claim to be rwais, and the rwais, for their part, refuse any association with the new group. Yet, in a number of ways, Ousmane is repeating patterns established by the rwais, on a broader scale and in a manner more in tune with the late 20th century. Ousmane's choice of instruments is obviously the result of foreign technological influence, but so, initially, were the rribab and

⁵ The group has, however, put the rribab to other uses. In one publicity photo, one of the performers is shown holding a rribab. The use of the instrument in this case is entirely symbolic, since none of the members of the group can actually play the rribab. The musicians claim they would like to record and perform with traditional musicians, rwais and others, but they have been unable to persuade any to join them.

Example 75. Excerpt from a song by Ousmane (Mawel OUS 101; Amarir 1978:130).

lotar. The members of Ousmane take much of their music directly from the traditional repertory of the Ishlhin, and their new composition, based on the borrowing and reworking of old ideas, follows the same process as composition among the rwais. More important, the members of Ousmane have taken upon themselves the rwais' traditional roles of journalist, educator, and social commentator, which they feel the traditional musicians can no longer fulfill for the younger generation. Again, the members of Ousmane consider themselves, like the rwais, to be intermediaries between different groups of Berbers (or Imazighen, as they prefer to call all Berber groups), and representatives of Berber (Amazigh) culture to the world at large. But where the rwais have been content to move primarily among different groups of Ishlhin, Ousmane, by singing in tamazight as well as tashlhit, seeks to bring together Berbers of every dialect group. Finally, where the rwais have been content to represent their people musically to the central government

and to foreigners, Ousmane seeks to establish a permanent audience among non-Berbers.

During its brief career, Ousmane has been remarkably successful in achieving its various goals. Since 1976, the group has been the subject of many articles and interviews in the major Moroccan dailies, both French and Arabic, publicizing both the group itself and the ideas of the Society for Research and Cultural Exchange. Programmers of the tashlhit broadcast in Rabat refused (and may still refuse) to play the music, but other stations gave Ousmane both interviews and airplay, and even the announcers at RTM/Rabat made frequent reference to the group. In 1978, Ousmane toured France and Belgium, playing before mixed audiences of Moroccans and Europeans, in such halls as the Olympia in Paris. The most remarkable demonstration of media and popular support for Ousmane, however, has been their successful production of records. The group's first 45 r.p.m. record came out in the middle of the cassette crisis, when production of records by the rwais had been stopped. The first record may have been subsidized by Ousmane's backers, but it sold well enough to justify the production of a second release. Subsequently, the group moved to the second largest local record company, Atlassiphone. With Atlassiphone, Ousmane has released a long-playing record (also published on cassette), an accomplishment unmatched by any single group of rwais.

One cannot yet predict with accuracy the long-term effect of the rise of Ousmane on the rwais and their music. The band has spawned a number of copy groups (including one named Izenzaren, thunder) which suggests that their style is taking hold in the cities. Thus far, the

new groups have reached an audience that was largely beyond the rwais' grasp: city-bred Ishlhin and non-Berbers. But, in the absence of new record production from the rwais, even some of the older members of the rwais' audience have begun to show an interest in Ousmane. As the Ishlhin become more polarized between villagers and permanent city-dwellers, Ousmane's share of the urban market is likely to go up. If the new groups continue to expand their hold on the urban audience, the rwais may find their market limited once more to the mountains. But villages have neither the wealth nor (because of the existence of ahwash) the need to support a population of rwais as large as that now resident in the cities. Thus, in the end, if the present trend continues, the rwais must eventually decline, and perhaps disappear.

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In each category, musicians are listed in alphabetical order by their first names (exclusive of the title l-Hajj, given to pilgrims to Mecca). "Last" names--consisting of patronymics, regional or tribal designations, and "stage" names or nicknames--were sometimes unavailable, and sometimes too numerous or variable to be of use. The information given for each musician includes (if available): instrument played; approximate age; village, tribe, and region of origin; base of operations; significant associations with the profession; and other observations.

Rwais

- ^cAbdallah Ashtuk -- rribab; early 30's; Ashtukn, Sus; Rabat/Casablanca.
- ^cAbdallah Bairat -- naqus; early 20's; Agadir region, Sus; Marrakech/Agadir; former acrobat.
- ^cAbdelkbir l-Fetwaki -- lotar; early 30's; Infwak, central High Atlas; Marrakech; good comedian and haïqa organizer.
- ^cAli Itiggi -- lotar; early 20's; Intugga (Mtougga), High Atlas; Marrakech; associate of Mohamed Itiggi and and Brahim Hmati.
- Brahim Ahrawli -- lotar; late 40's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; itinerant; accompanist and long-time associate of l-Hajj l-Mehdi bn Mbarek.
- Brahim n Ait Murak BuImzgan -- lotar; early 40's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; Marrakech; highly regarded as instrumentalist.
- Brahim Hmati -- naqus; early 20's; Tahanawt, High Atlas; Marrakech; associate of Mohamed Itiggi and Ali Itiggi.
- BuJma^c Abjaw -- lotar/rribab; mid-40's; Ait Zeltn, Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; permanent resident of Marrakech; former apprentice of Moulay Ali, cousin of BuSellam, uncle of Mohamed u Lhossin; bi-musical.
- BuSellam Azltn -- lotar; early 50's; Ait Zeltn. Ihahan (Haha) High Atlas; itinerant; former apprentice of Moulay Ali, cousin of BuJma^c, uncle of Mohamed u Lhossin, frequent accompanist of l-Hajj l-Mehdi; highly regarded instrumentalist; bi-musical.
- Hammu -- naqus; late 20's; Azud (Mzouda), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech.

- Hmad Bughenbu l-Grish -- loṭar; early 40's; Tahanawt, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; bi-musical.
- Hmad u Mahmud -- rribab; late 20's; Ida u Mahmud, High Atlas; Marrakech.
- Lahsen u Duwwar -- loṭar; early 40's; Azud? (Mzouda), High Atlas; Marrakech; bi-musical; supplier of equipment to rwaïs, including instruments, instrument repair, clothing, daggers and jewelry (for sale or rent), and taperecorders.
- Lahsen Itiggi -- loṭar; early 20's; Inçugga (Mtougga), High Atlas; itinerant; former ṭaleb.
- Lahsen Shgit -- rribab/loṭar; late 20's; region of Imi n Tanut, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; good instrumentalist.
- L^Carbi Abidar -- rribab; early 20's; Intugga (Mtougga), High Atlas; itinerant.
- Lḥossin -- rribab; early 50's; itinerant.
- Lḥossin BulMsail -- loṭar; early 30's; Amzmiz, High Atlas; Casablanca; long-time associate of rbaibi named BelMudden; well-known and popular as poet/composer/singer, with a number of published songs.
- Lḥossin bn l-Hajj bn Yahya Utznakht -- rribab; mid-20's; Ida Wawḡgit, southern High Atlas; itinerant, with home in Warzazat; son of l-Hajj bn Yahya, now retired, and brother of Mohamed Utznakht; has published several records, alone and with his father.
- Lḥossin Tarbush -- loṭar; mid-20's; resident in Marrakech.
- l-Hajj l-Mehdi bn Mbarek -- rribab/loṭar; early 40's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; itinerant; former apprentice of Moulay Ali, and sometime associate of l-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush; highly regarded poet/singer, with 20 published songs; former gnawi.
- Mḥand bn Bl^Cid Ihihi -- rribab; mid-20's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; itinerant.
- Mohammed Abuzia -- loṭar; late 20's; Ida u Buzia, Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; itinerant.
- Mohammed Agurram -- rribab/loṭar; late 50's; Imi n Tanut region, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech, but travels to markets in the region; often performs solo; respected for voice and loṭar-playing; bi-musical.
- Mohammed Azrwal -- loṭar; early 20's; Amzmiz, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech.

- Mohammed u Brahim u Tassurt -- rribab/lotar; late 40's; born in Ida u Mahmud (?), High Atlas, grew up in Essaouira (Tassurt) on the Atlantic coast; resident of Marrakech; former apprentice of Moulay Ali, long-time associate of 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush.
- Mohammed bn 1-Hajj bn Yahya Utznakht -- lotar; early 20's; Ida Wawzgit, southern High Atlas; son of 1-Hajj bn Yahya, and brother of Lhossin Utznakht.
- 1-Hajj Mohammed bn Lahsen Albensir (ed-Demsiri) -- rribab; mid-40's; Inbensiren (Demsira), High Atlas; resident of Casablanca; most respected rais of this generation, with numerous recordings.
- Mohammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw -- rribab/lotar/^Cud; mid-20's; Ait Zeltn, Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; son of a comedian, nephew of BuJma^C and BuSellam, associate of ^COmar 1-Far; bi-musical.
- Mohammed Itiggi BuIzgaren -- rribab; early 20's; Intugga (Mtougga), High Atlas; Marrakech; associate of ^CAli Itiggi and Brahim Hmati.
- Mohammed u Mbarek BuNsir -- rribab/lotar/violin/^Cud; early 40's; Ida Wawzgit, southern High Atlas; resident of Casablanca; third generation rais, with many musicians in family; most respected instrumentalist among rwais, successful studio musician; bi-musical.
- Mohammed Buismumuin -- lotar; early 20's; Azud (Mzouda), High Atlas; Marrakech; respected young poet, poor instrumentalist.
- Mohammed Zawia -- no instrument; early 30's; Tahanawt, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; public stenographer and part-time rais.
- Moulay Hmad Amjud 1-Mnani -- lotar; early 30's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; travelled to Rio di Janeiro with troupe from Marrakech Casino; bi-musical.
- Moulay L^Carbi 1-Adnani -- lotar; mid-20's; Intugga (Mtougga), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; accompanist/apprentice of 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush.
- ^COmar Ahrawli -- rribab/lotar; late 30's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; Marrakech; associate of ^CAbdelKbir 1-Fetwaki; former associate of 1-Hajj 1-Mehdi and Brahim Ahrawli.
- ^COmar 1-Far -- lotar; early 20's; Mjatt, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; associate of Mohammed u Lhossin; bi-musical.
- 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush -- rribab; mid-40's; Azud (Mzouda), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; former apprentice of Moulay Ali; most successful rais of this generation, with over 50 recordings.

Raisat

- ^CAisha Mzoudia -- late 20's; Azud (Mzouda), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech.
- Brika Mtuggia -- early 20's; Intugga (Mtougga), High Atlas; resident of Marrakech.
- Fadma ult Tamassint -- mid-40's; Telwat (Telouet), Igliwva (Glaoua), central High Atlas; former lotar-player in personal band of Qaid Brahim el Glawi; performs in ahwash at Marrakech Folklore Festival.
- Fatima Tagurramt -- mid-20's; resident of Marrakech.
- Fatima Talghubart -- early 30's; resident of Rabat; sometime associate of Demsiri and Wahrush.
- Fatima Tihihite -- late 20's; Ihahan (Haha), High Atlas; Rabat/Casablanca; associate of Demsiri; one of most popular raisat, with several successful recordings.
- Mina -- early 30's; resident of Marrakech.

Village Musicians

- ^CAbdallah bn Brahim -- tallunt; early 30's; Ait Mellul, Sus; merchant in Marrakech.
- ^CAbdelKrim -- tagwmamt; early 40's; Ihahan (Haha). High Atlas; often accompanies acrobats (Ulud Sidi Hmad u Musa).
- Brahim Shannan -- no instrument; Imi n Tanut; performs in local ahwash, but not member of ait uhwash; farmer, transporter.
- BuRhim -- tallunt; late 40's; Tahanawt, High Atlas; ahwash leader, respected local poet, farmer.
- Hmad -- tagwmamt; early 40's; Iseksawn (Saksaoua), High Atlas; often accompanies acrobats (Ulud Sidi Hmad u Musa).
- Hmad u Alla -- ahwash leader; mid-40's; Imi n Tanut, High Atlas; farmer.
- Hmad u Brik -- tallunt; mid-30's; Imi n Tanut, High Atlas; semi-professional.
- Hmad u Lahsen -- tallunt; late 20's; Agord Mliln, Ihahan (Haha). High Atlas; farmer.
- Lahsen -- tallunt; early 30's; Amzmiz, High Atlas; merchant in Marrakech.
- ^LCarbi Shannan -- no instrument; mid-20's; Tukhraibin, Imi n Tanut, High Atlas; performs in local ahwash, but not member of ait uhwash; brother of Brahim Shannan; motorcycle repairman.

Lhossin bn Mohammed Albensir -- tallunt; mid-20's; Amzmiz, High Atlas; worker in Marrakech.

Moḥammed bn Laḥsi bn B1^Cid -- tallunt; late 20's; Imsiwen (Mesfioua), High Atlas; farmer.

Moḥammed Luqarid -- aḥwash leader; mid-40's; Imi n Tanut; farmer.

Moḥammed u Tayyeb -- tallunt; early 30's; Agord Mliin, Iḥaḥan (Ḥaḥa), High Atlas; farmer.

S^Cid u Ḥmad -- tallunt; late 30's; Imsiwen (Mesfioua), High Atlas; unemployed.

Gnawa

^CAbdelQader Baska -- qarageb; mid-20's; Marrakech

^CAbdelQader Sillake -- qarageb; mid-30's; Imi n Tanut, High Atlas; resident of Marrakech; frequently performs of Jama^C el-Fna; has travelled (with Folklore troupe) to France, Spain, Germany, Holland, Russia.

^CAbdenNabi -- ginbri/tbel/qarageb; mid-50's; Marrakech; group leader, scrap metal dealer.

Brahim Belkani -- ginbri/tbel/qarageb; mid-20's; Marrakech; part-time butcher; has travelled independently to France, Holland, England; performed with European jazz groups.

Laḥsen Ḥayyal -- ginbri; mid-20's; Marrakech.

Mbarek bn Otman -- tbel/qarageb; early 30's; Marrakech; frequently performs on Jama^C el-Fna.

APPENDIX I

ACTIVITIES ON JAMA^C EL-FNA

Over a two-year period, I passed through Jama^C el-Fna at least once nearly every day I was in Marrakech. I concentrated most of my attention on the rwais' corner, and took a census of groups several times a week. However, even in transit to see the rwais or go to another part of town, I was able to get a feel for the rhythm and organization of the square at a given time. From January 1976 through February 1977, I made periodic maps of the activity on the square to support my observations. In all, 67 maps were made, covering all seasons of the year, all the days of the week, and all periods of the day. The limited number of maps can hardly provide exhaustive data on the operation of Jama^C el-Fna over such a long period of time. Rather, they were meant to serve as illustrations for the present work, and as a preliminary study for future research.

A list of 54 activities was compiled from the first months of research on the square, which, with some adjustments, made subsequent efforts at mapping more efficient. For purposes of analysis, these activities have been arranged in six groups: musical entertainment, verbal entertainment, service vendors, product vendors, food vendors, and games (Table 27).

The different classes are distinguished not only by the type of activity, but by their distribution over time.

Entertainers were most active in the late morning, and, particularly, in the afternoon between 1-Casr (mid-afternoon prayer) and 1-maghreb (sunset prayer). Verbal entertainers appeared earlier and stayed later than did musicians. Service vendors were most numerous in the morning hours. Product vendors generally set out their wares in the early morning (8-9 a.m.) and remained on the square until sunset. Temporary stalls set up on a seasonal basis (during Ramadan, the month of fasting, or before certain holidays) sometimes stayed open around the clock. Food vendors worked primarily in the afternoon through the late evening, and sometimes, especially during Ramadan and the hot summer months, until dawn. Some games, like the shooting gallery (54) may appear at any time, but games are most abundant on the weekends and national and religious holidays.

Within each class, and sometimes across classes, there may be considerable similarity in the function and behavior patterns of participants in each of the activities. The distinction between individual categories is based on a constellation of factors, including distribution in time and space, ethnicity and sex of participants, ways of dealing with clientele, and so on. To take but one set of examples, public writers (22), fortune tellers (23), and charm writers (26) all offer spiritual well-being and solution to personal problems as their principle product or service. (Public writers also read and write letters for illiterate customers--hence

their name--but, according to several informants in and out of that profession, their main source of revenue comes from magic and other esoteric practices.) However, fortune tellers are almost always women, while charm writers and public writers are exclusively male. Fortune tellers and charm writers keep a good distance between themselves and their competition (at least five meters), while public writers sit close together in a neat line (Map 3). Fortune tellers divine a problem and its solution by casting cards, beads, shells, and so on. Public writers use more "scientific" means, such as numerology. Charm writers sell prepackaged charms by means of a sales pitch, although they may modify their product for a specific malady by filling in blanks in a prepared form. Similar distinctions can be drawn between each of the categories in all classes.

Future research--including more extensive interviews and more intensive observation--will undoubtedly result in the refinement of the categories, and more accurate description and analysis of behavior patterns. For the moment, however, the list gives an idea of the variety of products, services, and entertainment available on the square, while the maps give a picture of the range of intensity of activity.

TABLE 27
Activities on Jama^C el-Fna

Musical Entertainment

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <u>rwais</u> | 8. urban Arab folk music |
| 2. acrobats | 9. modern Arab popular music |
| 3. monkey and fox trainers | 10. Heddawa musicians |
| 4. Gnawa drummers | 11. <u>ghaita</u> and <u>tbel</u> |
| 5. Gnawa <u>ginbri</u> players | 12. snake charmers |
| 6. Middle Atlas <u>shiakh</u> | 13. Huwara drummers |
| 7. Haouzi violin groups | 14. folk revival copy group |

Verbal Entertainment

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 15. preachers | 19. theater groups |
| 16. story tellers | 20. pigeon men (Heddawa) |
| 17. comedians | 21. fire eater |
| 18. magicians | |

Service Vendors

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 22. public writers | 26. charm writers |
| 23. fortune tellers | 27. shoe shine boys |
| 24. Saharan medicine men | 28. plastification of documents |
| 25. amplified medicine men | 29. transfer dye |

Product Vendors

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 30. picture frames | 35. incense sellers |
| 31. posters | 36. toys |
| 32. used clothes | 37. knock-knock tables |
| 33. book market | 38. cigarette boys |
| 34. drum shops | |

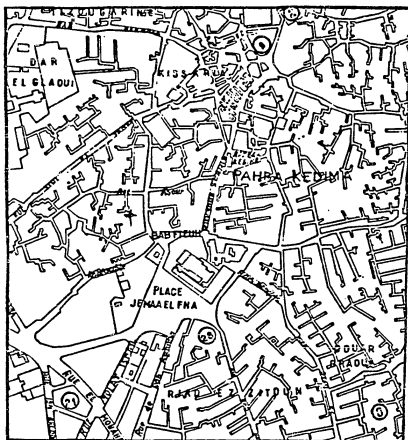
Food Vendors

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 39. meal stands | 44. prickly pears (<u>hindia</u>) |
| 40. drink stands | 45. pancakes (<u>baghrir</u>) |
| 41. candy and nut carts | 46. icecream carts |
| 42. hard-boiled egg ladies | 47. lemon drink cart |
| 43. snail carts (<u>bibush</u>) | |

Games

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 48. three-card monty | 52. dice |
| 49. string game | 53. bowling with tennis ball |
| 50. rocket (test of strength) | and cigarette packs |
| 51. weight and grip | 54. shooting gallery |

MAP 2

Jama^C el-Fna and Mid-Medina Marrakech

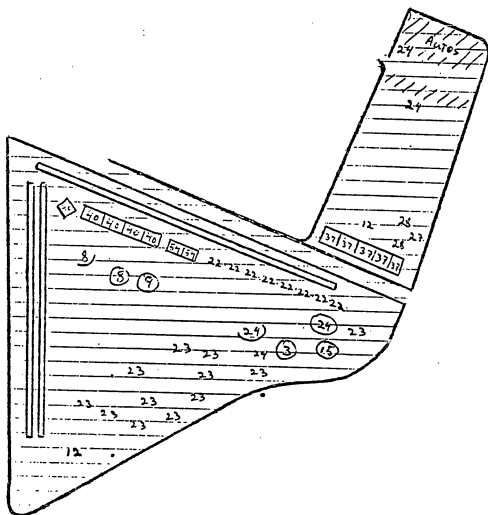
MAP 3

Jama^C el-Fna, Mid-Morning

Date: 7/12/76

Hour: 10:40 a.m. (Sunny Monday, not too hot)

Note the clustering of public writers (22) and the scattering of snake charmers (12), fortune tellers (23), and medicine men (24).



1 Squares and rectangles indicate permanent or collapsible structures. Circles and semi-circles indicate crowd of spectators.

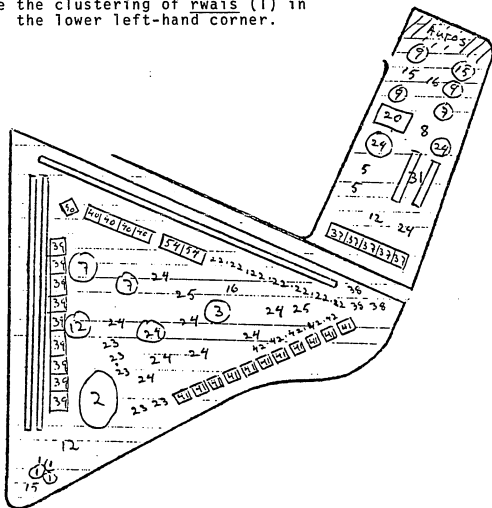
MAP 4

Jama^C el-Fna, Near Sunset

Date: 7/14/76

Hour: 20:15

Note the clustering of rwais (1) in
the lower left-hand corner.

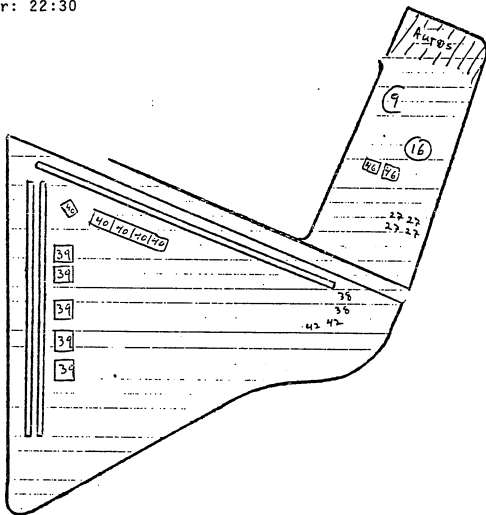


MAP 5

Jama^C el-Fna, Late Evening

Date: 8/24/76

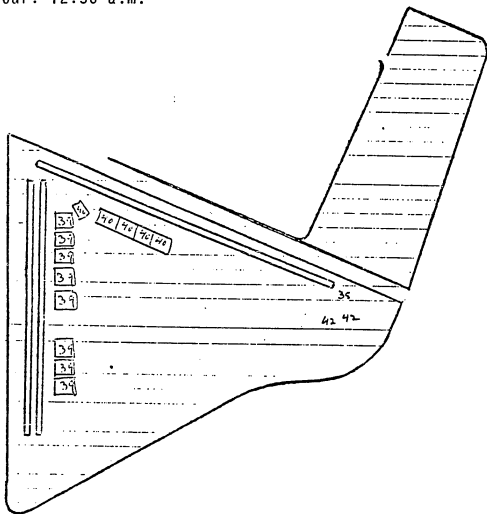
Hour: 22:30



MAP 6

Jama^C el-Fna, Midnight

Date: 4/28/76
Hour: 12:30 a.m.



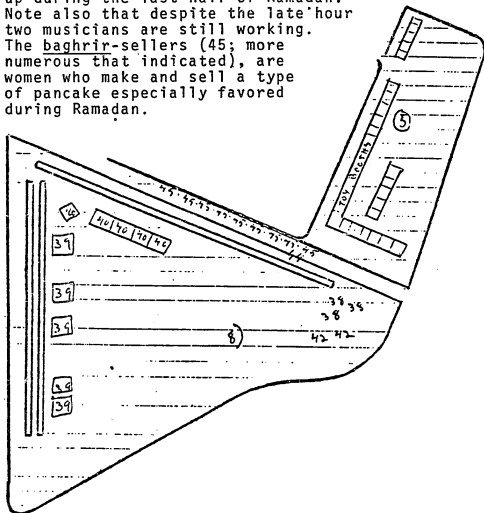
MAP 7

Jama^C el-Fna, Pre-dawn during Ramadan

Date: 9/22/76 (27 Ramadan)

Hour: 3:00 a.m.

Note the presence of special booths set up during the last half of Ramadan. Note also that despite the late hour two musicians are still working. The baghrir-sellers (45; more numerous than indicated), are women who make and sell a type of pancake especially favored during Ramadan.



APPENDIX II
SELECTION AND CODING
OF THE SAMPLE OF MELODIES

The sample of 210 melodies used for analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 is representative of the rwais' current repertory as a whole, including melodies that go back to the 1920's and 30's at least (according to both the rwais' testimony and early commercial recordings), current popular melodies, and "new" melodies composed along traditional patterns. The sample does not include unsuccessful or experimental new melodies, or melodies of obvious foreign origin. While several variants of certain melodies have been included in the sample, identical versions from different performances have been eliminated. The proportion of tbil melodies, particularly in agnaw and l-m'akkel, is greater than it would be in a random sample of live or commercially recorded performance, in order to have a sufficiently large number of these melodies for analysis. Nevertheless, the results of the analysis, tabulated in Chapters 7 and 8, correspond very closely to the results of the analysis of two smaller, random samples taken earlier in the research.

Each transcribed melody in the sample was affixed to an Indexestm card, and coded for fourteen variables (Table 28). Indexes cards have one, or, in this case, two rows of perforations around the edge of each card. Each hole is given a number, and each number is assigned to a bit or

TABLE 28

Variables Coded in the Analysis
of the Sample of Melodies

Genre
Meter
Phrases per Melody
Rhythm Cycles per Phrase
Tuning and Tablature
Finalis of each Phrase
Conjunction/Disjunction
of Initial and Final Pitches
Rhythmic Symmetry
Melodic Symmetry
Ascending Disjunct Intervals
Descending Disjunct Intervals
Range
Countour of each Phrase
Cadence Patterns

category of information. When a bit of information is included on a card, the information is coded by cutting a notch through the relevant numbered hole. In order to retrieve all cards containing a specific piece of information, a sorting rod is run through the deck at the appropriately numbered hole; when the deck is lifted and shaken, all cards notched at this point fall out.

The simultaneous use of two or more sorting rods in different holes, or successive sorting of smaller and smaller batches, permits cross-referencing for multiple variables (e.g., genre, mode, and finalis). Thus, in effect, the Indecks system can be made to operate like a hand computer. Most of the tables in this work are the result of such multiple sorting. There are, however, certain disad-

vantages to the system. Sorting a large deck for numerous variables consumes a considerable amount of time compared to true computer sorting. A few cards sometimes fail to fall out of the batch, creating the risk of an inaccurate count. Correcting mistakes, by placing gummed, perforated paper over misplaced notches, is a tedious process. Nonetheless, the system proved very useful for retrieving and classifying data, verbal (i.e., from fieldnotes) as well as musical. It should also prove useful in future research, with the addition of further variables, and the correlation of combinations of variables not used in this dissertation.

APPENDIX III

TRANSCRIPTIONS

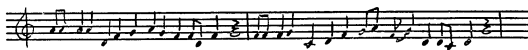
The transcription and analysis of any music, like its performance, involves a number of choices. This work has concentrated on two diametrically opposed aspects of musical performance: 1. external, environmental factors leading to broad structural changes in performance, and 2. the manipulation of basic components of individual melodies. Analysis in both cases has been based on the principle of the ideal type. Complete individual performances have not been analyzed in detail; although patterns of orchestration and melodic variation have been discussed, the examination of complete performances, with 2-12 heterophonic parts and numerous varied repetitions of each melody, would have necessarily limited the breadth of analysis.

The following transcriptions provide an outline of the pieces examined in this work, showing the melodies in their order of appearance in performance. The purpose of these transcriptions is first to allow the reader to verify--or refute--statements made about the structure of the rwais' melodies; secondly, to provide further examples of the sequencing of melodies in performance; and finally, to serve as a listening guide to the recorded performances of the rwais available in the Archives of Ethnic Music and Dance at the University of Washington.

Each melody is identified by a series of letters and numbers, taken from my catalogue of field recordings. The first letter, R, indicates a recording of performances by the rwais. In most cases, subsequent letters are based on the initials of the principal performer's name. Thus, RMB identifies a recording of a group led by Rais Moḥammed u Brahim. The main exception to this pattern is the RV series, in which various rwais take the lead role in different selections. The letters are followed by one or more numbers. The first of these refers to the tape on which a given performance is found, the second to a specific selection on that tape, and the third to the order of measured melodies in the selection. Thus, for example, RB 2.1.3 identifies the third measured melody in the first selection on the second tape by Rais BuJma^C.

Captions above each transcription give the catalogue number, the name of the principal performer, and the title or genre of the selection. Tbil-s are headed by a single caption, with individual melodies enumerated within the transcription. When a performance includes song, each melody (riḥ or ḍḍerb) is headed by a separate caption. Melodies not included in the sample used for analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 are marked with an asterisk (*).

RAK ^CAbdelKbir l-Fetwaki, "Sers-t ajdig."



*RB 1.1.1 Buǧma^C Abjaw, "Wailli ya nass" (tamazight).



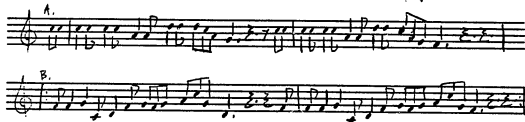
*RB 1.1.2 "Wailli ya nass," tamsust.



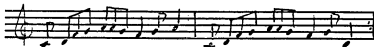
*RB 1.1.3 ^CAita



RB 2.1.1 BuJma^C Abjaw, "Yuf uslal n tamment azenkad."



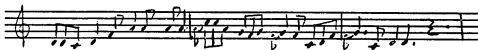
RB 2.1.2 Dderb



*RB 2.1.3 Dderb, rribab solo.



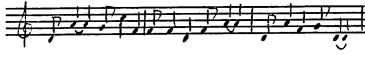
RB 2.2.1 BuJma^C Abjaw, "Amarg imut."



RB 2.2.2 Dderb



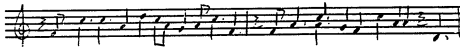
RHOW 1.1.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Ligh ur tak isin'yan, a l-baz."



RHOW 1.1.2 "Ligh ur tak isin," tamsust.



RHOW 1.2.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Ruwwah a l-baz."



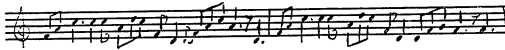
RHOW 2.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Afa-gh d usiyyad."



RHOW 2.2 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Titbirin."



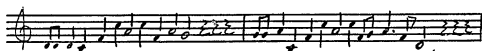
RHOW 2.3 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Yan igh yagug ya uhbib."



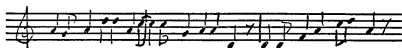
RHOW 2.4 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Tomobil."



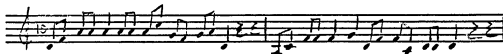
RHOW 2.5 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Sadatna Țolba."



RHOW 2.6 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Rais ar-t iħkam 1-^Caib."



RHOW 2.7 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Luh-gh Țit-inu duferghn mraw izenkaȚ."



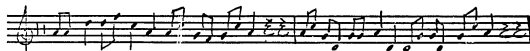
RHOW 2.8 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "A mun did-ngh ad ak nkka lluz."



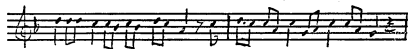
RHOW 2.8.2 Dderb



RHOW 2.9 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Igh ur nzri 1-ħbab ar talla tasa-ngh."



*RHOW 3.1.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Rwaħ a jamali" (Arabic).



*RHOW 3.1.2 Interlude, "Khamsa u khamsin."



RHOW 4.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Tbil agnaw."

1. ^{x2}

2.

3. TAMSUST

3b

4. L-ADRUB

5.

6.

7.

8.

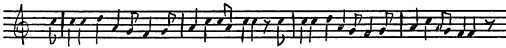
9.

* 10.

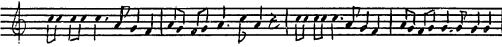
*RHOW 4.2 1-Hajj Omar Wahrush, "Tbil Moulay C'Ali."

1. C HOTTING # 32
 2. C HOTTING # 33
 3. C HOTTING # 34
 4. C HOTTING # 35
 5. C HOTTING # 36
 6. C HOTTING # 37
 7. C HOTTING # 38
 8. C HOTTING # 39
 9. C HOTTING # 40
 10. C HOTTING # 41
 11. C HOTTING # 42
 12. C HOTTING # 43

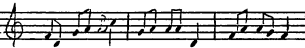
RHOW 6.1.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Asif n wurgh."



RHOW 6.1.2 Dderb



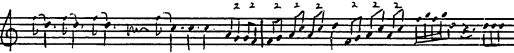
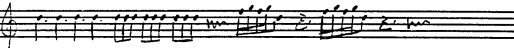
RHOW 6.2 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Agharas n Ugadir."

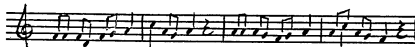
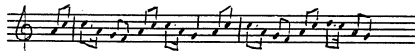
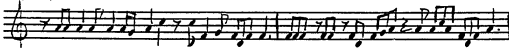
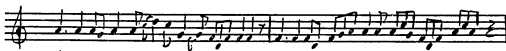


RHOW 6.3.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "A 1-^Cain awid aman" (Schuyler 1978c).

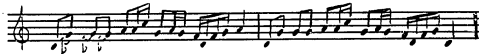


RHOW 6.3.2 Dderb, rribab solo

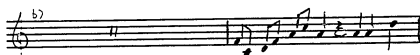
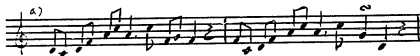


RHOW 6.3.3 DderbRHOW 7.2.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "A mun did-ng" (see RHOW 2.8).RHOW 7.2.2 DderbRHOW 7.2.3 DderbRHOW 7.3 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Ajda igh mzin."RHOW 7.4 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Irbba a ya asmun-inu."

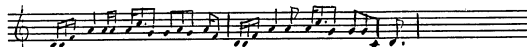
RHOW 7.5.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Ara-ngh ghikad ufulki zund l-mus."



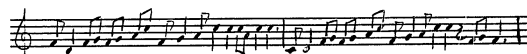
RHOW 7.5.2 Dderb



RHOW 7.6.1 1-Hajj ^COmar Wahrush, "Ainna mad righ zzin ur as zder-gh."



RHOW 7.6.2 Dderb



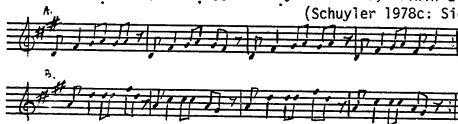
RHON 8.1 1-Hajj Omar Mahrush, "Tbil ushli."

The musical score for "Tbil ushli." is presented on 11 staves. The notation is in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 2/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. There are also some markings like "Dah" and "Bass" above certain staves. The score ends with a double bar line.

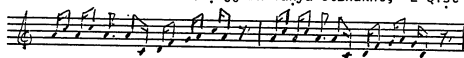
* RHUM 1.1 Hmad u Maḥmud, "Tbil ushliḥi."

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "RHUM 1.1 Hmad u Maḥmud, 'Tbil ushliḥi.'" The score is written on ten staves, each containing a single melodic line. The notation is a form of musical shorthand, likely Georgian, using various symbols, dots, and lines to represent pitch and rhythm. The score is divided into several measures by vertical bar lines. Some measures contain additional markings, such as "BASS" and "TENSAT", which may indicate different instrumental parts or performance techniques. The overall structure of the score suggests a single melodic line with various rhythmic and melodic variations throughout the piece.

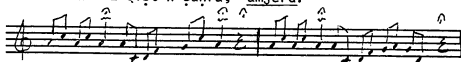
*RLTZ 1.1 Lhossin bn l-Hajj bn Yahya Utnakht, "Tiwin-d a ta berda"
(Schuyler 1978c: Side 2, Band 1).



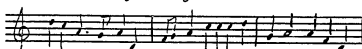
RLTZ 1.2.1 Lhossin bn l-Hajj bn Yahya Utnakht, "L-Qışt n Şahra."



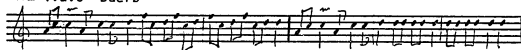
RLTX 1.1.1b "L-Qışt n Şahra," amjerd.



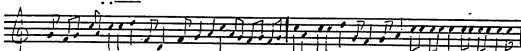
RLTX 1.2.2 "A ya Amarg."



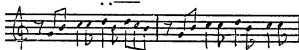
RLTX 1.2.3 Dderb



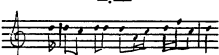
RLTX 1.2.4 Dderb



RLTX 1.2.5 Dderb



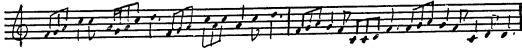
RLTX 1.2.6 Qta^c



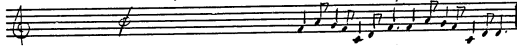
RLTZ 1.3 Lhossin bn l-Hajj bn Yahya Utznakht, "Tbi' n l-Hajj bn Yahya."

Handwritten musical score for RLTL 1.3, featuring 17 numbered staves of music in G major (one sharp). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and repeat signs. Some staves have additional markings like *1, *2, *3, *4, *5, *6, *7, *8, *9, *10, *11, *12, *13, *14, *15, *16, *17, *18, *19, *20, *21, *22, *23, *24, *25, *26, *27, *28, *29, *30, *31, *32, *33, *34, *35, *36, *37, *38, *39, *40, *41, *42, *43, *44, *45, *46, *47, *48, *49, *50, *51, *52, *53, *54, *55, *56, *57, *58, *59, *60, *61, *62, *63, *64, *65, *66, *67, *68, *69, *70, *71, *72, *73, *74, *75, *76, *77, *78, *79, *80, *81, *82, *83, *84, *85, *86, *87, *88, *89, *90, *91, *92, *93, *94, *95, *96, *97, *98, *99, *100.

RLUD 1.1 Laḥsen u Duwwar, "Wanna ur iḥmi zzin," accompaniment/introduction.



RLUD 1.1 "Wanna ur iḥmi zzin," vocal.



RLUD 1.2.1 Laḥsen u Duwwar, "Awa1 n shra^C," accompaniment/introduction.



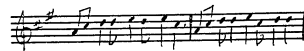
RLUD 1.2.1 "Awa1 n shra^C," vocal.



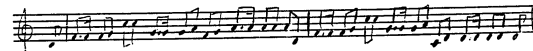
RLUD 1.2.2 Dderb



RLUD 1.2.3 Dderb



RLUD 1.3 Laḥsen u Duwwar, "Iwa bismi nkshm-d ad sillmgh."



RLUD 1.4 Laḥsen u Duwwar, "Mad iyi trit a wad ur isin tissnt."



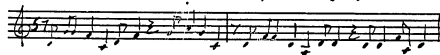
RLUD 1.6 Laḥsen u Duwwar, "Sharij."



RM 1.1 Mohammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw, "Tbil ushIhi."

The musical score is presented on five staves. The first staff begins with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 4/4. The notation is a vocal line with lyrics written below it. The second staff continues the vocal line. The third staff continues the vocal line. The fourth staff continues the vocal line. The fifth staff continues the vocal line. The music is written in a staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

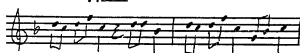
RM 1.2.1 Mohammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw, "Bismi sellmgh fl-aun a hhabi."



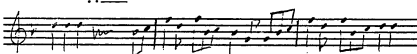
RM 1.2.2 Moħammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw, "Ar allagh."



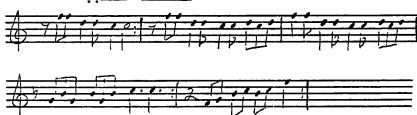
RM 1.2.3 Dderb



RM 1.2.4 Dderb



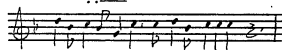
RM 1.2.5 Dderb, rribab solo



RM 1.2.6 Dderb

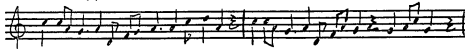


RM 1.2.7 Dderb



RM 1.2.8 Dderb

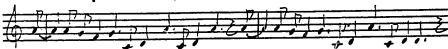


RM 1.2.9 DderbRM 1.2.10 Dderb

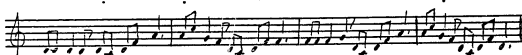
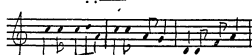
RM 2.1 Mohammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw, "A mun nki ditun."



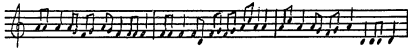
RM 2.2.1 Mohammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw, "L-Qışt n timizar."

RM 2.2.2 DderbRM 2.2.3 Dderb

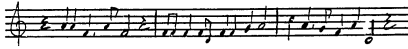
RM 2.3.1 Mohammed u Lhossin Baqshish Abjaw, "Atbir l-hubb."

RM 2.3.2 Dderb

RMA 1 Mohammed Agurram, "Irbba ya şşiyad," introduction/accompaniment.



RMA 1 "Irbba ya şşiyad," vocal.



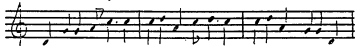
RMB 1.1.1 Moḥammed u Brahim u Tassurt, "Marḥababik dar-ngh."



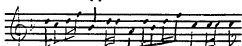
RMB 1.1.2 "Marḥababkik dar-ngh," tamsust



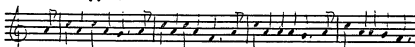
RMB 1.1.3 Moḥammed u Brahim u Tassurt, "Amarg."



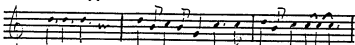
RMB 1.1.4 Dderb



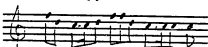
RMB 1.1.5 Dderb



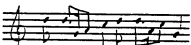
RMB 1.1.6 Dderb

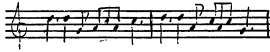


RMB 1.1.7 Dderb



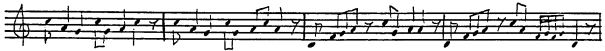
RMB 1.1.8 Dderb



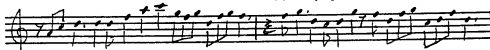
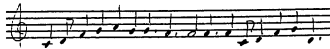
RMB 1.1,9 DderbRMB 1.1.10 Dderb

RNZ 1.1 1-Hajj Mehdi bn Mbarek, "Tbil ushIhi."

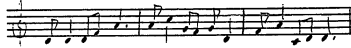
The musical score is composed of ten staves, each containing a line of music. The notation is written in a style characteristic of traditional Georgian music, featuring a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The score includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The notation is written in a style typical of traditional Georgian music notation.

RMZ 1.2.1 Moḥammed Zawia, "Sidi Brahim u ^cAli."*RMZ 1.2.2 Dderb*RMZ 1.3.1 Moḥammed Zawia, "A ḥbibinu ml-iyi ma iḡan l-^caib-inwi."RMZ 1.3.2 Dderb

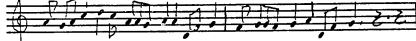
*RMZ 1.4.1 Moḥammed Zawia, "Taqsiṭt n Ṣaḥra."

*RMZ 1.4.2 Dderb

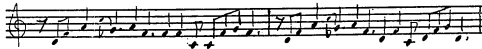
*RMZ 2.1.1 Moḥammed Zawia, "L-Qiṣṭ n sijṇ."



RMZ 2.1.2 Dderb



*RMZ 2.1.3 Dderb



*RMZ 2.1.4 Dderb



*RMZ 2.1.4b Dderb



RMZ 2.2.2-.3 "Tbil" (impromptu series of l-adrub).

RMZ 2.2.1 Dderb (cf. RHOW 6.3.1).



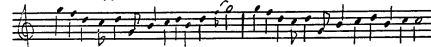
*RMZ 2.2.2-3 Dderb



*RMZ 2.2.4 Dderb



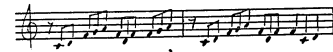
*RMZ 2.2.5 Dderb, rribab solo.



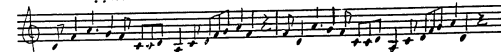
RMZ 2.2.6 Dderb



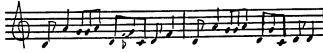
RMZ 2.2.7 Dderb



RMZ 2.2.8 Dderb



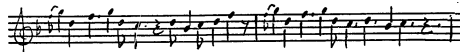
*RMZ 2.4.1 Mohammed Zawia, "A ya ḥbib-inu."



RMZ 2.4.2 Ḍderb



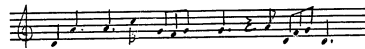
*RMZ 2.4.3 Ḍderb



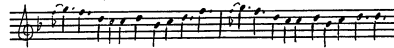
RMZ 2.5.1 Mohammed Zawia, "Nker-gh ya wass."



RMZ 2.5.2 "Nker-gh ya wass," tamsust



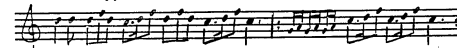
*RMZ 2.5.3 Ḍderb



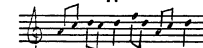
RMZ 2.5.4 Ḍderb



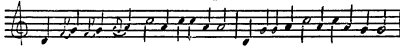
*RMZ 2.5.5 Ḍderb



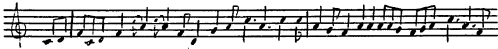
*RMZ 2.5.6 Ḍderb



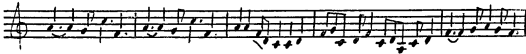
RMZ 3.1 Mohammed Zawia, "Moulay l-Hassan l-malik."



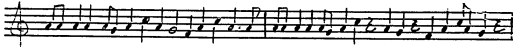
RMZ 3.2 Mohammed Zawia, "Nhemd rربي da:igan jid iga ddamen."



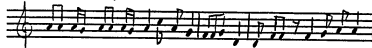
RMZ 3.3 Mohammed Zawia, "Ah aya hbib."



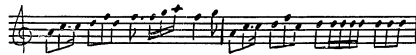
RMZ 3.4 Mohammed Zawia, "A sheikh-inu nra ad iyi t^Cawnm gh-iwaliwni."



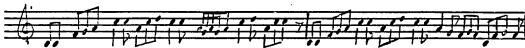
*RMZ 3.5.1 Mohammed Zawia, "Sidi S^Cid u ^CAbdenNa^Cim."



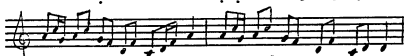
RMZ 3.5.2 Dderb



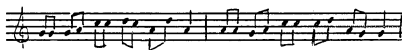
RMZ 3.6 Mohammed Zawia, "L-Qist n ziwaj."



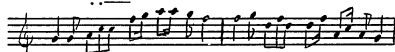
RV 1.1.1 Mhand bn Bl^Cid Ihihi, "Ufigh ajdig l-ward izhar nit."



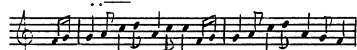
RV 1.1.1b "Ufigh ajdig l-ward izhar nit," transposed variation.



RV 1.1.2 Dderb



RV 1.1.3 Dderb



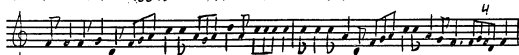
RV 1.2.1 Mhand bn Bl^Cid Ihihi, "Bismillah a sers bdugh as-sas ad bnugh."



RV 1.2.2 Dderb



RV 1.3 ^cAli Itiggi, "A zaid ukan a dunit,"



RV 1.4.1 ^cAli Itiggi, "A zaid ukan awal-inu."



RV 1.4.2 Dderb



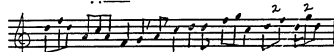
RV 1.4.3 Dderb



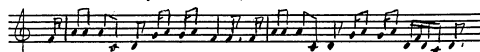
RV 1.5.1 Moulay Hmad Amjud L-Mnani, "Akun saqsa-gh a tolba."



RV 1.5.2 Dderb



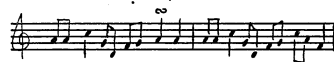
RV 1.6.1 Moulay Hmad Amjud L-Mnani, "Amarg ira bab-ns atn itini."

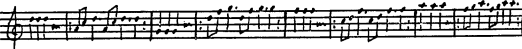
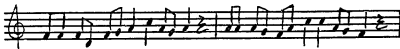
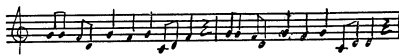
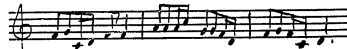
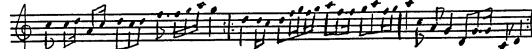


RV 1.6.2 Dderb



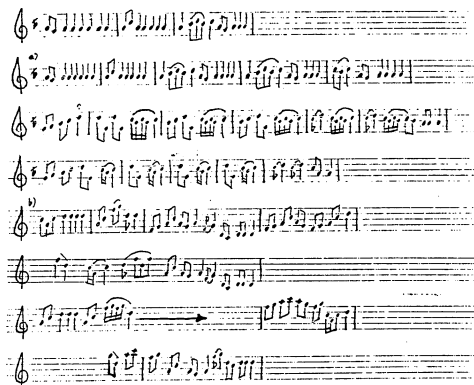
RV 1.7 Brahim Hmati, "A tasa sbr b-ziz n-un."



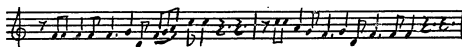
RV 2.1.1 Brahim Hmati, "A ya h**u**bib."RV 2.1.2 DderbRV 2.1.3 DderbRV 2.1.4 DderbRV 2.2.1 Moulay Hmad Amjud L-Mnani, "A ya h**u**bib lit nbda Allah ihennik."RV 2.2.2 DderbRV 2.2.3 Dderb

RV 2.3 ^CAli Itiggi, "Sheikh a Bnu Ya^Cqub" (Schuyler 1978c:Side 1, Band 3).

RV 2.3 Astara 1



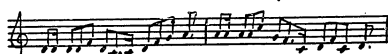
RV 2.3.1 ^CAli Itiggi, "Sheikh a Bnu Ya^Cqub."

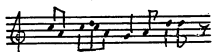
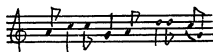
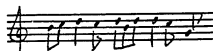


RV 2.3 Astara 2

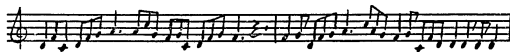
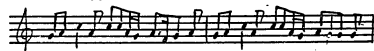


RV 2.3.2 ^CAli Itiggi, "Han ya uqsid."



RV 2.3.3 ḌderbRV 2.3.4 ḌderbRV 2.3.5 Ḍderb

RV 2.4.1 Moḥammed Itiggi Buizgaren, "BismiLlahu rahman aun-d inigh."

RV 2.4.2 Ḍderb (see RV 1.2.2).RV 2.4.3 Ḍderb

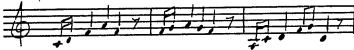
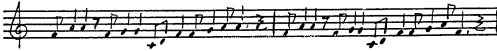
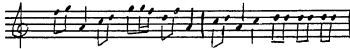
RV 2.5 Mohammed Bulzgaren, "Tbil ushlhi."

The musical score consists of ten staves. The first staff features a complex melodic line with many beamed sixteenth notes, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff begins with a double bar line and contains mostly whole and half notes. The third staff continues with similar rhythmic patterns. The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to two flats. The fifth staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The sixth staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to two flats. The seventh staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The eighth staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to two flats. The ninth staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to one flat. The tenth staff has a treble clef and a key signature change to two flats. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures, and dynamic markings like *mezzo* and *forte*.

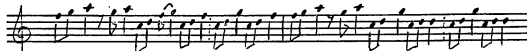
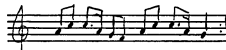
RV 3.1 Moulay Hmad Amjud L-Mnani, "A mun nkki dik."



RV 3.2 Moulay Hmad Amjud L-Mnani, "Nsawl a rais."

RV 3.3.1 Hmad u Mahmud, "Igh agh isghwi b-ziz, nhush ukan nfis"
(Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 2).RV 3.3.2 Dderb

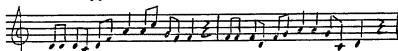
RV 3.4.1 Hmad u Mahmud, "Ghad igurran as righ atn dagh fašl-gh."

RV 3.4.2 Dderb

RV 3.5.1 Lhossin Tarbush, "Nga rja-nu gh-rbbi."



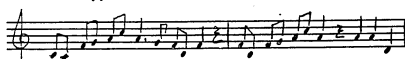
RV 3.5.2 Dderb



RV 3.5.3 Dderb



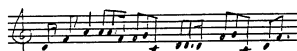
RV 3.5.4 Dderb



RV 3.6.1 Lhossin Tarbush, "A ya amarg l-ahbab."

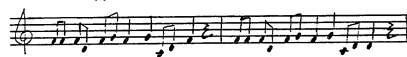


RV 3.6.1b "A ya amarg l-ahbab," variant rih.



RV 3.6.2-3 L-Adrub (see RV 2.1.3-4).

RV 3.6.4 Dderb



RV 3.7.1 Hmad u Mahmud, "Tgudi ya l-baz."



*RV 3.7.2 Dderb



RV 4.1 BuSella Azltn, "Tbil ugnaw/khamsa u khamsin."

The musical score is presented on ten staves. The notation is a form of early printed music, likely from a 16th or 17th-century manuscript. It features a series of vertical lines (neumes) placed on a four-line staff. The music is written in a single system, with the staves connected by a brace on the left. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, typical of early printed music. The score is arranged in a single system, with the staves connected by a brace on the left.

RV 4.2 BuSellam Azltn, "Tbil l-m'akkel."

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "RV 4.2 BuSellam Azltn, 'Tbil l-m'akkel.'" The score is written on ten staves, each containing a single line of musical notation. The notation is a form of musical shorthand, likely a simplified staff notation, featuring various note values, rests, and bar lines. The score is organized into measures by vertical bar lines. There are several dynamic markings and performance instructions throughout the piece, including "p" (piano), "f" (forte), "mf" (mezzo-forte), "ff" (fortissimo), "pizz" (pizzicato), "arco" (arco), "cresc" (crescendo), "dim" (diminuendo), "rit" (ritardando), "acc" (accelerando), "tr" (trill), "mord" (mordent), "b" (bend), "vibr" (vibrato), "gliss" (glissando), "sc" (scordatura), "pizz" (pizzicato), "arco" (arco), "cresc" (crescendo), "dim" (diminuendo), "rit" (ritardando), "acc" (accelerando), "tr" (trill), "mord" (mordent), "b" (bend), "vibr" (vibrato), "gliss" (glissando), "sc" (scordatura). The score is written in a single system, with the ten staves arranged vertically. The notation is a form of musical shorthand, likely a simplified staff notation, featuring various note values, rests, and bar lines. The score is organized into measures by vertical bar lines. There are several dynamic markings and performance instructions throughout the piece, including "p" (piano), "f" (forte), "mf" (mezzo-forte), "ff" (fortissimo), "pizz" (pizzicato), "arco" (arco), "cresc" (crescendo), "dim" (diminuendo), "rit" (ritardando), "acc" (accelerando), "tr" (trill), "mord" (mordent), "b" (bend), "vibr" (vibrato), "gliss" (glissando), "sc" (scordatura).

*RV 4.3 Mohammed Buismumuin (composer)/Moulay Hmad Amjud (lead singer),
"l-Borj n tifawt."



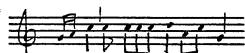
*RV 5.1.1 Mohammed Buismumuin, "L-Qiṣṭ n uṣiyad."



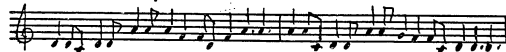
RV 5.1.2 Ḍderb



RV 5.2 Mohammed Buismumuin, "A ya amarg."



RV 5.3 L^carbi Abiḍar, "Asif (Tillas)."



RV 5.3.2 Ḍderb (see RLTZ 1.2.5).

RV 5.3.3 Ḍderb (see RB 2.1.3).

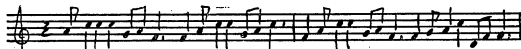
RV 5.3.4 Ḍderb



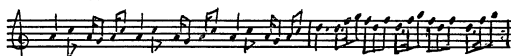
*RV 5.4.1 L^carbi Abıdar, "A lıqamt."



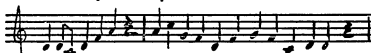
RV 6.1 L^hossin Uşıyad, "L-Qelb ifrah."



RV 6.1.2 D^qerb



RV 6.2.1 L^hossin Uşıyad, "Bismillah."

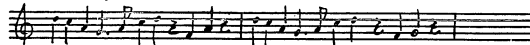


RV 6.2.2 D^qerb

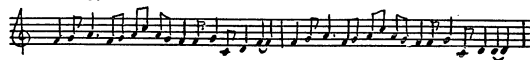


RV 7.1 Mo^hammed u Mbarek BuNsır, "İbil ugnaw" (see following page).

RV 7.2.1 l-Hajj l-Mehdi bn Mbarek, "Amarg."



RV 7.2.2 D^qerb



RV 7.1 Mohammed u Mbarek BuNsir, "Tbil ugnaw"
(Schuyler 1978c: Side 1, Band 1).



GLOSSARY

The linguistic origins of words are indicated as follows:

- (A) -- Arabic
- (F) -- French
- (S) -- Sub-Saharan word, language unspecified
- (T) -- Tashlhit, or, if specified, tamazight
- (A/T) -- Tashlhit form derived from Arabic root

Abaraz (T) -- Lit., battleground; poetic duel.

Abaraz n Ait Umarg (T) -- Program on RTM devoted to rwais and amarg, produced and presented by Ahmed Amzal.

Adinan (T) -- Snares of gut string on a frame drum (Ida u Mahmud).

Agnaw (T) -- Lit., mute, mush-mouthed; mode used by rwais, in which the rribab is tuned to the first string (A) of the lotar.

Agnza (T) -- Drum ensemble for ahwash (Ayt Mgun).

Agurram (pl. igurramn, T) -- a saint; one who has acquired--by inheritance, devotion, or divine inspiration--large amounts of baraka.

Ahwash (pl. ihwaishn, T) -- Lit., a dance; a line or circle dance from the High Atlas or Sus, generally with two antiphonal choruses and drum ensemble; an evening of dance; music in general.

Ahidus (T) -- A line dance from the Middle Atlas (tamazight).

Ait (T) -- Lit., sons of, people of.

Ait Uhwash (T) -- Lit., the people of ahwash; a group of young villagers who form the core of an ahwash performance.

Aita (A) -- Lit., call; a genre of rural, Arab music, generally performed by professionals; used here to refer generically to the professional music of the Atlantic plains.

Akhusan (T) -- Lit., bones; bone inlays on the neck of a rribab

Akshud (T) -- Lit., wood; the neck of a rribab or lotar

Allun (T) -- Middle Atlas (tamazight) term for frame drum; lit., sieve.

Amanaŕfi (A/T) -- Lit., half-and-half; a mode said by one informant to combine the characteristics of ashlhi and agnaw.

Amarg (pl. imurign, T) -- Lit., yearning, (unrequited) love; poetry; used here to refer specifically to poetry of the rwais; may sometimes refer to music in general.

Amazigh (pl. Imazighen, f. tamazight, T) -- Lit., free man; Berber from the Middle Atlas; sometimes used to refer to any Berber, regardless of dialect group.

Amjerd (A/T) -- Song by rwais in free rhythm.

Amzad (T) -- Tamashaq (Saharan Berber) term for monochord fiddle with calabash body, played by Tuareg women; term used by Moroccan Berber intellectuals to refer to rribab.

Andam (pl. indamn, A/T) -- poet/composer; sometimes contrasted with rais (performance specialist).

Aqsid (pl. iqsiden, A/T, from the Arabic qasida) -- poem or song text performed by the rwais.

Asais (pl. isuyas, T) -- Line of dancers.

Asarag (T) -- Open space; threshing ground; any performance area.

Ashlhi (pl. Ishlhin, f. tashlhit, A/T, from Arabic shalaha, to speak improperly) -- Berber from the High Atlas or Sûs regions of Southwestern Morocco; mode used by rwais in which rribab is tuned to the third string (G) of the Totar.

Assif (T) -- Lit., the sifter; one of the parts in the drum ensemble for ahwash (Ayt Mgun).

Astara (A/T) -- Lit., travel, wandering, stroll; free-rhythm introductory improvisation by rwais or cawwada.

Cawwad (pl. -a, A/T) -- in tashlhit, a flute player; in Arabic, an ūd player

Baraka (A) -- Blessings; goodness; wealth; spiritual power.

Baqshish (A/T) -- In tashlhit, a comedian; in Arabic (from Turkish), tip, money, bribe.

Bengri (S) -- a double-headed side drum used in ahwash of the central High Atlas; used originally by Gnawa.

Bendir (pl. bnadr, A) -- Arabic term for a round, single-headed frame drum (cf. allun, tallunt).

Bu Naqus (A/T) -- Naqus player.

Dderb (pl. 1-adrub, A/T) -- Measured, instrumental dance tune used by rwais and Cawwada, usually in compound duple.

Derbuga (A) -- Single-headed, vase-shaped drum, used in Arabic folk, popular, and sometimes classical music.

Disk (pl. dyask, F) -- A phonograph record; song text; complete performance by rwais from astara to qta^C; first in a series of two enchainé songs.

Dker (A) -- Lit., male; old term for middle string of lotar.

Fatha (A, from al-fatiha, the opening sura of the Qur'an) -- A prayer; a plea for money or other donation.

Fraja (A) -- Spectacle; dance performance by the rwais.

Fteft (A/T) -- Lit., wick; the string of a rribab, made of combed strands of horsehair.

Funduq (pl. fnadeq, A) -- Lit., a caravanserai, with lodgings, stables, and storerooms for goods; an inn.

Fugani (A) -- Lit., the upper one; the bass string of an instrument.

Ganga (S, Hausa?) -- A double-headed side drum used by the Gnawa.

Ghichak -- Afghan Persian term for a bowed lute.

Ginbri (pl. gnabr, dim. gnibri, S/A) -- 3- or 4- stringed fretless lute, generally with tear-drop shaped body covered with goatskin head; sometimes also known as lotar. Gnawa ginbri has rectangular wooden body, sliding leather tuning rings, and metal sound modifier.

Gedra (A) -- Lit., cooking pot; drum made from clay pot; dance form from the northern Sahara.

Halqa (pl. hlaqi, A) -- Lit., throat, circle; the circle of spectators around a public performer or preacher; performance in the marketplace.

Herd (T) -- An isolated stamp of the foot in the rwais' dance.

Igurramn (T) -- pl. of agurram.

Ihiadn (sing. ahiad, T) -- Acrobats from the High Atlas or Sus.

Iilm (T) -- Lit., skin; the skin face of a lotar or rribab.

Imazighen (T) -- pl. of amazigh; Middle Atlas Berbers.

Imdyazen (sing. amdyaz, T) -- Tamazight term for small troupes of itinerant, male professional musicians in the Middle Atlas, specializing in songs of religious and moral commentary.

Ishlhin (A/T) -- pl. of ashlhi; the tashlhit-speaking Berbers of the High Atlas and Sus regions of Southwestern Morocco.

Ismgan (sing. asmq, T) -- Lit., black; tashlhit term for Blacks.

Isuqiin (sing. asuqi, A/T) -- Lit., chattel; tashlhit term for Blacks.

Izlain (T) -- Bead snares on the rribab.

Izenzarn (T) -- Lit., thunder; a popular group of young, urbanized Ishlhin.

Izlan (T) -- Popular songs of the Middle Atlas (tamazight).

Jellaba (pl. jelaleb, A) -- Long, pull-over outer-garment with hood, made of wool or cotton.

Kaman/Kamanja (A) -- Arabo-Persian word for violin or viola.

Khamsa u Khamsin (A) -- Lit., fifty-five; Moroccan military music, based on the repertory of Andalusian music; term derived from the product of 11 and 5, the number of modes and rhythm cycles respectively in the Andalusian repertory.

L- -- Definite article in Arabic, often assimilated into word when used in tashlhit.

L-Cabid (A) -- Lit., slaves; Arabic and tashlhit term for Blacks.

L-adrub (A/T) -- pl. of dderb

L-Casr (A) -- Midafternoon prayer; one of the five daily prayers required in Islam.

Leff (A) -- League or alliance of tribes, cutting across tribal boundaries; an important, but disputed, concept in the colonialist theory of Moroccan social organization.

L-fas (F/T) -- Side, second side (of a record), from the French face; second of two enchain songs in performance.

Lhalqt (A/T) -- Tashlhit version of halqa.

Lghorf (A/T) -- Lit., cup, bowl; the body of a lotar, made from an enamelled metal bowl.

L-hejhuj (A) -- A large ginbri.

Lizar (A/T) -- Lit., sheet, large piece of cloth; unseamed, wrapped outer garment; overskirt worn by tashlhit women.

Ljam (A/T) -- Lit., bridle; L. n-ufus, thumb loop on rribab;
1. n-lftelt, string bridle on rribab.

Ljbad (A/T) -- -- String loop used to anchor rribab string to base of the instrument.

Lkumit (A/T, from the Arabic kumia) -- Decorative dagger with curved blade, hung across the shoulder and worn under the arm at waist level.

L-m'akkel (A/T) -- Mode used by the rwais, in which the rribab is tuned to the middle string (D) of the lotar; rribab tablature with first finger in raised position.

L-ma^Cssert (A/T) -- Lit., the olive press; middle finger position on the rribab.

L-mejdul (A) -- Braided silk (or synthetic) cord used to suspend lkumit (dagger) or shoulder bag; also used to support rribab, when played standing up.

Lmherfin (A/T) -- Lit., the professionals; rwais' slang term for themselves.

Lmsamr (A/T) -- Lit., nails; metal rods used to beat the naqus.

Lmsaq (T) -- Unaccompanied vocal solo, often in free rhythm (Ayt Mgun).

Lotar (A/T) -- Lit., the string; fretless, 3- or 4-stringed lute with round body (enamel bowl) covered with goatskin head.

Lqaus (A/T) -- Rribab bow.

Lqbad (A/T) -- Lotar nut, gut or nylon string used to hold lotar strings against the top of the neck.

Luleb (pl. lwaleb, A/T) -- Peg on rribab or lotar.

Luṭrat (A/T) -- Lotar strings.

Maghreb (A) -- Sunset; sunset prayer; the west; North Africa; Morocco.

M^Callem (pl. -in, A) -- Master craftsman or musician.

Mashkhara (A) -- Clowning; fooling around; masquerade.

Milhun (A) -- Semi-classical, urban Arabic song form, practiced mainly in Fes and Marrakech.

Musem (pl. mwasem, A) -- Annual festival for a saint.

al-Muwahhidun (A) -- Lit., the unifiers; the Almohades, puritan Berber dynasty in the 12th-13th centuries A.D.

Nai (A) -- Lit., reed, cane (in Persian); Middle Eastern, end-blown flute, in various sizes, with 6 finger holes and thumb hole.

Naqus (A/T) -- Lit., bell; a piece of metal (usually a brake drum) beaten with metal rods, used to accompany rwais or village musicians.

Ntua (A) -- Lit., female; old term for middle string of the loṭar.

Nuqsat (A/T) -- Lit., little bells; finger cymbals used by raisat.

Oṭairi (A/T) -- Loṭar player.

Ousmane (Usman, T) -- Lit., lightning; popular music group of young, urbanized Ishlḥin

Qaṭṭan (A) -- Caftan; floor length robe, usually belted, worn primarily by women.

Qa'id (A) -- Tribal governor; rural administrative official.

Qaraqeb (sing. qargaba, S/A) -- Metal double castanets, used by Gnawa, and sometimes in ahwash.

Qasba (A) -- Lit., reed, cane; Moroccan Arab end-blown flute, in various sizes, with six finger holes, and, sometimes, a thumb hole.

Qta^C (A/T) -- Lit., cut; short cadential formula used to "cut" performance.

Qur'an (A) -- The Holy Book of the Muslims; the word of Allah revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad.

Rais (pl. rwais, f. raisat, A/T) -- Lit., leader, president; leader of an ahwash or any musical performance; Berber professional musician from Southwestern Morocco.

Raisa (pl. -at, A/T) -- Female professional singer or dancer in Southwestern Morocco.

Rawel (T) -- Open string of the rribab; sometimes used to describe the third string (G) of the loṭar

Rbaibi (A/T) -- Rribab player.

Rba^Ct (A/T) -- An ensemble of rwais.

Rih (pl. l-aryah, A/T) -- Lit., wind, spirit; a melody; usually refers to melodic setting of poetry.

Rkkza (A/T) -- Lit., foot-stamping used in pounded earth construction; type of dance by the rwais, involving leaps and foot-stamping.

Rma (A/T) -- Lit., shooters, hunters; members of quasi-religious hunting societies in Morocco; villagers who dance to the music of the Cawwada.

Rribab (A/T) -- Monochord fiddle used by rwais.

Rzza (A) -- A turban.

Rwais (A/T) -- pl. of rais

Sersal (S?/A) -- Metal sound modifier with jingling rings, placed at the top of a Gnawa ginbri.

Shahada (A) -- The testimony of faith: "There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is his Prophet;" one of the five pillars of Islam.

Sheikh (pl. shiakh, A) -- Lit., old man, leader; religious leader, master; village administrative official; professional musician (in Arabic and tamazight).

Shluh (sing., shilh, A) -- Arabic term for Ishlḥin, or Berbers in general.

Shorfa (sing. sharif, A) -- Nobles; descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Faṭima.

Sintir (dim. sinitra, A, from Persian santur?) -- Term sometimes used for Gnawa ginbri.

Sirk (F) -- Lit., circus, carnival; tent theater.

Sna^Ci (pl. -a, A/T) -- Lit., craftsman; instrumental specialist.

Sni^Ct (A/T) -- Lit., craft; the sum of a rais' performance skills.

Suisin, or Suissi (A) -- Lit., little one from the Sus; a small ginbri or lotar.

Suq (pl. aswaq, A/T) -- A market.

Sura (pl. -at, A) -- A chapter from the Qur'an.

Ta^Carija (pl. t^Carij, A) -- Small, hand-held pottery vase drum, with single head.

Tadurt (A/T) -- Lit., circle; frame of rribab body.

Taghaghusht (T) -- Metal sound modifier with jingling rings, placed under bridge or at the top of the neck of the lotar; tashlhit term for sersal.

Taghanimit (pl. tighanimin, T) -- Lit., reed, cane; a piece of cane, split and tied around the spike of the rribab, inside the body, to support the frame.

Tagnza (T) -- Round, single-headed frame drum; with or without snares (Ayt Mgun); frame of rribab body.

Tagunait (T) -- Sound holes in side of rribab body.

Tagwalt (A/T) -- Round, single-headed frame drum (Ida u Maḥmud).

Tagwmamt (pl. tigwmamin, T) -- Lit., reed, cane; a short, end-blown flute, with six finger holes and thumb hole, played by awwada.

Tahemmart (A/T) -- Lit., central beam of a tent; the bridge of a stringed instrument.

Tahtani (A) -- Lit., the lower one; the treble string of an instrument.

Takhorst (A/T) -- Metal ring used to join rribab string to ljbad.

Talailalit (T) -- System of nonsense syllables used to outline the meter of a song text.

Tallunt (pl. tilluna, T) -- Lit., sieve; round, single-headed frame drum, with or without snares.

Tamazight (T) -- The language of the Middle Atlas Berbers (Imazighen); sometimes used to refer to Berber language in general, irrespective of dialect.

Tammerigt udar (T) -- Lit., foot clapping; metric patterns beaten out with the feet.

Tamsust (T) -- Lit., shaking, moving; short, accelerated section of drumming and handclapping in the ahwash of the Imi n Tanut region; among the rwais, and accelerated bridge between two songs, or between amarg or tbil and l-adrub.

Taqbilt (A/T) -- A tribe.

Taqsim (pl. taqasim, A) -- An unmeasured, instrumental solo, used as prelude or interlude, in Arabic classical or popular music.

Taqsett (A/T) -- Poem or song text performed by the rwais.

Tar (A) -- A small tambourine (5-8" in diameter) used primarily in Arabic music.

Tara (A/T) -- A round, single-headed frame drum, with or without jingling plates; the body of a rribab.

Tarifit (T) -- Berber (tamazight) dialect spoken in the Rif mountains of Northeastern Morocco.

Tasebnit (A/T) -- Tassled head scarf worn by women.

Tashajit^C (A/T, from the Arabic shaji^C, courageous, or tashji^C, encouragement) -- Praise singing.

Tashlhit (A/T) -- Berber (tamazight) dialect spoken in the western High Atlas and Sus regions of Southwestern Morocco.

Tatast (A/T) -- Lit., cup, bowl; body of a lotar.

Tawriqt (pl. tiwriqin, A/T) -- Lit., a sheet of paper or anything flat; a phonograph record.

Tbel (pl. tbula, A) -- Double-headed side drum used by the Gnawa.

Tbil (A/T) -- Dance overture to a performance by the rwais; a composition in duple time made up of melodies from the tbil repertory.

Ti-n-lhalqt (A/T) -- A rapid, undifferentiated pulse beat on the naqus, used to summon spectators to the halqa; sometimes used to accompany an astara.

Thrrim (T) -- One of the parts in the drum ensemble for ahwash (Ayt Mgun).

Ti-izdar (T) -- Lit., the lower one; the first string of the lotar (A); the first finger position in ashlhi on the rribab (A).

Tiqarqawin (T) -- Metal double castanets, used by Gnawa, and sometimes in ahwash; tashlhit term for garageb.

Ti-n-lMadani (T) -- Name for the fourth string (C) of the lotar.

Ti-n-tuzzumt (T) -- Lit., the one in the middle; the second string (D) of the lotar; the third finger position on the rribab (D).

Ti-ufella (T) -- Lit., the one above; name for the third string (G) of the lotar; the fourth finger position on the lotar.

Tizi (T) -- Lit., mountain pass; metric modulation from duple to compound duple in ahwash (Ayt Mgun).

Ti-z-kuzt (T) -- Lit., the fourth one; name for the fourth string (C) of the lotar.

Tizlghiwin (T) -- Decorative silver bands on rribab neck.

Tkhllif (A/T) -- Lead drum part in ahwash (Ayt Mgun).

Tolba (sing. taleb) -- Lit., seeker (of knowledge); religious students, or low-level Qur'anic scholars; scribes.

Tukhsin (T) -- Lit., teeth; notches on spiked end of lotar neck, serving as string carrier or tail-piece.

Ulad Sidi Hmad u Musa (A) -- Lit., the sons of Sidi Hmad u Musa, a 16th century saint; acrobats from the High Atlas or Sus.

^cUd (A) -- Lit., wood; the Arabic lute; in Morocco the instrument has 5 double courses and a single bass string, tuned DGAdgc.

Zawia (A) -- Lit., corner; a religious lodge, often adjacent to the tomb of a saint.

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